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ABSTRACT

The Ford Foundation's City High School Recognition Program (conducted in 1982-83), was designed to find, document, and recognize the overall progress made in recent years by inner city high schools that previously had been failing. Through a blend of $1,000 recognition awards and $20,000 project grants, the program sought to reinforce the most promising educational activities within these schools and to heighten public interest in them. This report begins by describing the conception and implementation of the program and continues with sections giving the impressions of the site visitors who examined each participating school and a sampling of schools' and communitys' responses to the awards and grants. The final sections sums up what the recognized schools had in common, factors involved in improvement, and major problems still facing inner-city high schools. Appendices list recipients of the awards and grants, site visitors, award/grant selection panels, and statistics about the cities and schools in the program. (CMG)

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City High Schools: A Recognition of Progress

A Ford Foundation Report

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Foreword

Schools are very much on the mind of the nation. Over the past three or four years, studies of American schools have proliferated, and more are expected over the next year or so.* Rarely, if ever, has so much attention been paid to schools in such a brief span.

The studies published to date have looked at many aspects of schooling and made numerous recommendations about how schools might be improved. These recommendations have been widely discussed at the community, state, and national levels. Most important, the studies have reminded us that schools, especially public schools, play a vital role in the life of the country. Schools prepare youth for colleges and universities, for jobs and careers, for adult and family responsibilities, for participation in a democratic society, and for life in general. With responsibilities like that, the reports point out, schools should be better than they are. To become better, they assert, schools will have to make changes, but in order to be able to do so they must be given adequate support.

However important these studies are, and whatever their consequences may be, we do well to remember that schools "keep." That is, they carry on. Each day, schools open, teachers teach in them, and students learn in them. Some schools do well, others do not. Some schools get better, others get worse. In any case, schools keep. With this in mind the Ford Foundation decided to take a look at how one kind of school, the city public high school, was "keeping." In some ways, our "look" can be viewed as complementing some of the recent major studies. They took as their subject American education as a whole. We focused on the recent past and current state of just one

*The Education Development Center has published a report that summarizes the results of some thirty recent studies of American schools. For a copy of the center's report, write to Publishing Center, Education Development Center, Inc., 55 Chapel Street, Newton, Massachusetts 02160.

segment of it, a part that reputedly was in deep trouble—the urban high school.

Our aim was to find out firsthand what has been happening to the city high school in recent years. Was it mired in the confusion, turmoil, and despair described in news stories over the past few years? Was it no longer an educating institution, as many seemed to think? Or had it "bottomed out?" Was it possible that the city high school had started on the road to recovery?

Our hunch—and that's all it was—was that in almost every city in the land there were signs that high schools were getting better. Every so often, we would be told about a city high school, here or there, that had "turned around." Every so often, we would learn about a "bad" school that was now "good." Every so often, we would hear about a school where the staff and the surrounding community had somehow taken the school's destiny in their own hands and, with sheer determination and imaginative use of resources, had made the school a better place, a better school, than it had been in a long time, or perhaps ever before.

We wanted to find out for ourselves, so we organized a journey of discovery. We called our search the Ford Foundation City High School Recognition Program. The very name of the program suggests that we thought our hunch was right, and that we wanted to honor the schools that had, in fact, improved by recognizing them.

This publication tells the story of the City High School Recognition Program—how it was conceived, how it operated, and its results. "Are some city schools doing better than before?" we asked. Where are they? How do they account for their progress? And, would recognizing them through a nationwide search help them?

We invite you to journey with us as we review the Ford Foundation City High School Recognition Program as it was shaped, conducted, and received in the participating schools and their immediate neighborhoods and in the larger community as well. We hope you will find this review illuminating and that it will help you to "see" city high schools in a new light.

Edward J. Meade, Jr.
Ford Foundation
June 1984

CITY HIGH SCHOOLS: A RECOGNITION OF PROGRESS

I

The City High School Recognition Program: What it was and how it operated

*By Peter L. Buttenwieser**

Two years ago, the Ford Foundation set out to honor a sample of public high schools in cities across the land—large comprehensive high schools that have made significant gains in recent years.

It was the impression of the Foundation's staff that the widely shared perception of these schools as rough, hostile, out-of-control places, where little if any learning could occur, was out of date. Glimmerings from the field seemed to suggest a more hopeful reality, one in which stability had been restored, a sense of community reestablished, and academic instruction returned to its central place. There was reason to believe that many urban high schools had reached a vital turning point in their development and that, with encouragement and support, they could consolidate and extend their gains.

The initiative upon which Ford embarked, national in dimension but local in emphasis, was designed to draw attention to these improving schools and to highlight their accomplishments. Called the City High School Recognition Program, it sought, through a blend of awards and grants—through symbolic, as well as financial backing—to reinforce the most promising educational activities within these schools, and to heighten public interest in them. An odyssey of sorts, it was at once a school-improvement and a communications effort aimed at building new support for inner-city schools.

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*Peter L. Buttenwieser is an independent consultant on education and human services and was a site visitor in the City High School Recognition Program.

The program was not envisioned as a study, though it seemed likely that things would be learned along the way; nor was there any intent to be prescriptive, to offer counsel, or to suggest a better way to go. Instead, the more modest goal was to reach into individual schools to note, dramatize, and ultimately reward organized efforts that have resulted in positive change. The locus of concern was the individual school, not any grouping or system of schools. It was centered on the urban schoolhouse where the teaching-learning process continually unfolds and where the school community is every day engaged in the quest to make education meaningful and effective.

The central, organizing concept was to recognize accomplishments and gains—not just improved achievement scores and academic growth, but also success in raising student attendance, reducing truancy and dropout rates, increasing participation in extracurricular activities, easing racial tension, involving parents and the community, and generally enhancing the quality of student life. Recognition and monetary awards were to be granted to deserving schools in a two-tiered process that included daylong site visits to the schools themselves. A lean, uncomplicated notion, which found its way into the program's name and into people's consciousness as well, the idea of recognizing schools for both admirable effort and tangible results provided a clarity and sense of purpose to the undertaking.

The City High School Recognition Program was an effort to ride circuit among scores of urban schools across the country and to search for the unique quality, the special story, the extra effort that would set some schools apart from others and make them especially worthy of support.

THE FIRST YEAR

The intent of the City High School Recognition Program was to focus on schools that serve the majority of urban youth—the genuine "common schools" that have traditionally received, and worked with, students from all walks of life. Eligibility in the program was limited to:

- schools that are general, or comprehensive, not specialized in any respect;
- schools that admit students without entrance exams, interviews, or achievement standards other than completion of eighth or ninth grade;
- schools that enroll 30 percent of more of their students from low-income families.[2]

The decision to limit eligibility to comprehensive high schools followed from a belief that these schools are the most representative of American high schools—the kind familiar to generations of city dwellers. The mainstay of most city school systems, they are familiar places that historically have been called upon to provide students with both academic learning and preparation for life and careers, usually in too-large classes and with insufficient resources. Because these schools are expected to take all students, their student bodies are racially and socially diverse and include large numbers of the economically disadvantaged.

To develop a national sample of comprehensive high schools, forty cities were invited, in the winter of 1982, to participate in the program. In order to yield a manageable number of schools, approximately 200 to 250, the selection was limited to cities with populations of more than 150,000, but less than two million (based on 1980 Census data). That meant eliminating both smaller cities likely to have only one, or perhaps no, eligible schools, and larger cities where the presence of many eligible schools might erode the diversity of the national sample, thereby unbalancing and in some respects overwhelming the process. Taking into account such criteria as region, size, age, demographic composition, and economic base, and seeking to include a cross section of American cities, the Foundation selected:

Albuquerque, New Mexico
Atlanta, Georgia
Baltimore, Maryland
Birmingham, Alabama
Charlotte, North Carolina
Columbus, Ohio
Denver, Colorado
Des Moines, Iowa
Detroit, Michigan
Fresno, California
Houston, Texas
Indianapolis, Indiana
Jackson, Mississippi
Jersey City, New Jersey
Kansas City, Missouri
Knoxville, Tennessee
Las Vegas, Nevada
Lubbock, Texas
Memphis, Tennessee
Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Minneapolis, Minnesota
New Orleans, Louisiana
Norfolk, Virginia
Oakland, California
Omaha, Nebraska
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
Portland, Oregon
Providence, Rhode Island
Rochester, New York
Salt Lake City, Utah
San Antonio, Texas
San Diego, California
Seattle, Washington
Spokane, Washington
Syracuse, New York
Tampa, Florida
Tucson, Arizona
Tulsa, Oklahoma
Washington, D.C.
Worcester, Massachusetts

These cities, distributed fairly evenly across the country, seemed to reflect the many different tones and colorations of urban American life. Particular attention was paid to including such old industrial enclaves as Jersey City, Pittsburgh, and Detroit, as well as such newer Sun Belt cities as Albuquerque, San Antonio, and Tucson; traditional centers of the Midwest and South, such as Des Moines, Omaha, Tampa, and Atlanta, along with such northern settlements as Seattle, Portland, and Minneapolis. Above all, an effort was made to include cities that reflect the country's major racial and ethnic groupings, especially blacks and Hispanics who disproportionately swell the ranks of the poor and for whom public education is therefore particularly important.

Working with authorities in each of the forty cities, the Foundation identified 225 schools that appeared to meet the requisite criteria. It sent to each a nomination form to be completed by the school itself and returned directly to the Foundation, without being channeled through school district headquarters or any other intermediary. This served to establish direct communication between the Foundation and those it hoped to strengthen and to emphasize the primacy of the individual high school.

The nomination form was designed to elicit from each school a sense of where it had been and where it saw itself going. It asked the school to identify areas of its own performance in which there had been marked improvement in recent years and to discuss these patterns of growth in specific, concrete terms. This was facilitated by asking the school to choose a "base year" in the decade of the 1970s against which to view its progress in school year 1980–81. The idea was to encourage the school to provide a profile, or "snapshot," of itself at two different points in time and to understand its performance in light of this comparison.

The form probed deeper by asking not only for evidence of gains made over the years, but also for an exploration of the "critical elements" within the school that had led to the gains. This was meant to encourage thought about the dynamics of change, and to press the school to determine what had spurred its forward movement. The expectation in this initial task was that the school would take an inward look at itself in ways specifically designed to help it identify, and then build upon, its major accomplishments.

The responses from schools around the country were particularly impressive, given the demanding nature of the work involved. It was clear from the returns that personnel in the field were challenged by the task and handled it with interest and care. In addition, many

school communities—principals, teachers, and parents—expressed their excitement about a program that seemed to care about local schools, and they let it be known that Foundation representatives would be welcomed in their schools whenever they might choose to come. The doors were open; the program was on its way.

Less than a week after the mid-February 1982 deadline for submitting the nomination forms, the Foundation assigned to each school a member of a team of independent reviewers, themselves education practitioners, to conduct a full-day visit intended to corroborate the data in the schools' nomination forms. Known as "site visitors," these sixteen men and women provided a vital link between the Foundation and the participating schools. They helped to personalize what could have been a perfunctory relationship.

When the site visitors fanned out across the country to visit the 148 schools that had submitted nominations, they had only the school's nomination form as background and reference. This was the "map" that guided their daylong visit. There were no data from boards of education, no comments from superintendents of schools, no scuttlebutt or leads from the community at large. The visitors were assigned to schools they didn't know in cities they didn't live in; they went in "cold" to see for themselves.

Each site visitor was assigned anywhere from eight to twenty schools to visit within the six weeks allocated. Aided by the Foundation's Site Visit Report Form and a preliminary intensive orientation meeting, which identified the areas of school life to be explored, the visitors were able to handle their assignment within a common framework. Although they were encouraged to follow their own instincts in learning about the schools, they operated within the bounds of a national effort requiring an evenhanded and consistent approach.

The site visitor's task was to verify and, where possible, to strengthen the school's nomination—to get inside the setting in order to understand not only the general climate and feel of the school but also the special areas of achievement it cited. Thus, if a school was particularly proud of its efforts to strengthen its academic program, or relate to the local community, or integrate its student body, the visitor would devote considerable time and energy to getting at the heart of this story. Where it became obvious that the school was doing impressive work in areas not cited on the nomination form, the visitor might attempt to help the school build its case. The nomination form served as a starting point, not a lid. The intent throughout was to find efforts worthy of recognition and support. The mere fact that site visitors came with open minds was in itself heartening to the schools.

Although each visitor charted his or her own path through the school, there were common experiences: a meeting with the principal and his or her leadership team; interviews with key personnel in the school; an opportunity to visit classes at random, roam the hallways, and get a feel for the environment; discussions with parents and members of the local community; and contact with students. The idea was to get at the real life of the school, to arrive at a sense of what the place was all about, and to weigh the school's case for special recognition. All this, with personal comments and impressions, was included in a summary report that conveyed the visitor's judgment as to whether or not the school deserved an award.

The site visit reports, arriving at the Foundation like dispatches from the field, brought word from Baltimore and Indianapolis, Memphis and Spokane. Members of the team were asked not to contact one another so that each visitor would rely solely on his or her own judgment. The visitor in New Orleans had no idea what Washington or San Diego was like, and no one had more than an inkling of how the overall effort was faring. The odyssey under way was, in fact, sixteen individual journeys that came together only after all the schools had been visited and all the reports were in.

By mid-April, the Foundation had received all 148 reports. It then convened a panel of advisors to review the material and to make recommendations for the final awards. The panel, made up of representatives from various national educational organizations, served as a check on what had transpired in the field and lent added perspective to the process. Its members read both the schools' nomination forms and the site visitors' reports and then shared their observations and recommendations with the Foundation, which made the final selections.

One hundred and ten high schools in thirty-six cities received recognition awards for having significantly improved their performance during the past decade. The Foundation sent these schools Certificates of Recognition along with cash awards of $1,000 to support student-initiated activities, and declared in a press release that it could confirm the birth of a new spirit in city high schools all over the country.

In announcing the awards, Franklin Thomas, the Foundation's president, said: "Our site visitors found that these schools are orderly and purposeful, operating in an environment in which teaching and learning can take place. They found, too, that with the compassionate and effective leadership of principals and faculty, students are making encouraging gains. Although many of the schools continue to have some

educational deficiencies, they are making notable progress in the tasks that society has assigned them—preparing students for entry into the workplace, further schooling, adult life, and citizenship. We want to acknowledge these achievements, tell other schools and communities about them, and reinforce and extend their success."

The granting of awards had a profound impact on the recipient schools, many of which greeted the announcement with celebration and fanfare. While the small cash grants were welcome, it was the concept of recognition that seemed to please them most. These were struggling schools that had rarely enjoyed the limelight or been singled out for praise. To have a well-known foundation honor their work was a major event.

The media reacted enthusiastically as well. Journalists in almost every city, many of them stunned by a positive appraisal of their local schools, cited the awards and, in many cases, went out to the schools to take a look for themselves. As a result, for the first time in many communities, the public was introduced to urban schools in which good things were reported to be happening.

Recognition was extended by the Foundation into the second stage of the program, which spanned the summer of 1982. Each of the 110 schools honored was invited to submit a proposal for a grant of $20,000 to support activities aimed at broadening its school-improvement efforts. The idea was to reinforce the most promising instructional programs and to encourage bolder initiatives.

What interested the Foundation was the prospect of supporting activities developed in the schools themselves, under the aegis of professionals with a proven track record and demonstrated commitment. Here were grass-roots high schools, already on the move, serving urban youth resourcefully and with distinction—schools that seemed eager and primed to use these modest grants wisely and in good faith.

The proposals, submitted by 107 of the 110 eligible schools, were read by the site visitors before being reviewed by the panel of advisors. Each site visitor was asked to comment on how well the school he or she had visited could handle the proposed activities and whether they made sense in the context of the particular school. Meeting as a group, the panel weighed these comments with its own more detached sense of the project's scope, vision, and manageability and shared its recommendations with the Foundation, which again made the final selections. Fifty schools in thirty cities received Recognition Grants, which totaled $1 million.

The broad range of activities described in the funded proposals was

consistent with the kind of diversity the site visitors had observed in the schools. The activities ranged from establishing a committee made up of teachers, students, and parents to foster better racial relations to initiating instruction in computer literacy, from creating a tutorial program in reading and mathematics to extending the school day so that master teachers could offer individualized instruction in language arts and mathematics.

TO STOP OR GO FORWARD

With the awarding of the Recognition Grants in the fall of 1982, the Foundation had met all its goals for the project. The original intent had been to end the program at this point. However, two events prompted the Foundation to sponsor a second round.

The first event was a two-day debriefing session for the site visitors, which took place in April 1982. At the meeting, one site visitor after another spoke feelingly about the warmth and pride and caring encountered in schools that were clearly being "turned around." In testimony from Birmingham and Syracuse and Columbus and New Orleans, a consensus emerged that something of profound importance was happening in city high schools across the country and that other schools committed to giving students a better chance also deserved a chance at recognition. The visitors counseled the Foundation to offer it.

Members of the national press provided a different kind of spur. During a May 1982 press conference, several journalists asked, somewhat skeptically, whether the Foundation's hopeful findings and experiences in mainly small and mid-sized cities would hold up in larger urban areas. As one reporter put it, "Maybe this program can 'play' in Knoxville, Washington, and Detroit, but will it 'wash' in Los Angeles and New York?" The assumption was that the toughest high schools fell outside the Foundation's sample. They were in what another reporter called the "real ghettos" of the nation's biggest cities. It was an intriguing question.

In any case, the interest and excitement generated by the City High School Recognition Program in both the media and the schools indicated that the program had taken on a life of its own and that it had captured people's imagination. Whether it was because of the grants and awards, the gesture of honoring unprestigious schools, or merely saying a few kind words about urban education, the program had touched people in many different communities. Superintendents in

several of the largest urban systems asked for a chance to nominate their schools as well. The opportunity to deepen the experience by offering the program to another group of schools was a unique and challenging one—and the Foundation took it.

In January 1983, the Foundation set aside some $1.5 million to support a second year of the City High School Recognition Program, this time in the nation's largest cities.*

THE SECOND YEAR

Once again, the Recognition Program applied exclusively to public comprehensive high schools. Two hundred and twenty-five additional schools in twenty-four newly designated cities met the eligibility criteria and entered the program midway in the 1982–83 academic year. The second-year cycle paralleled the first, although there were minor adjustments in format and technique.

The schools were again required to prepare their own nominations and to focus on tangible gains, and site visitors again gathered vital intelligence. Both the nomination and site visitor reports were used to determine how far the school had progressed from its base year to the present. Again, the schools were not judged against predetermined standards nor were they placed in competition with one another. Rather, each school competed against itself, the sole measure being the extent of its growth in recent years.

An effort was made to approximate the first-year experience and to provide continuity with what had come before. Thus the site-visitor and administrative teams were kept virtually intact and similar procedures were followed. Even the rhythm and spacing of activities were kept the same: two months for the schools to complete their nominations; six to eight weeks for site visits; selection of awardees ten days later; six weeks for the schools to develop their proposals, and the final decision on Recognition Grants two weeks later.

The emphasis on continuity enabled the Foundation to draw comparisons between the first- and second-year samples. The differences between the two rounds lay in the cities; the second year included cities with populations over 300,000 that had not been included in the

*In the second year, the program was administered by the Academy for Educational Development, a nonprofit educational planning and management organization in New York City.

1981–82 sample. Newark was the smallest and New York the largest city on a list made up of:

Austin, Texas	Los Angeles, California
Boston, Massachusetts	Miami, Florida
Buffalo, New York	Nashville, Tennessee
Chicago, Illinois	Newark, New Jersey
Cincinnati, Ohio	New York, New York
Cleveland, Ohio	Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Dallas, Texas	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
El Paso, Texas	Phoenix, Arizona
Forth Worth, Texas	St. Louis, Missouri
Honolulu, Hawaii	San Francisco, California
Jacksonville, Florida	San Jose, California
Long Beach, California	Toledo, Ohio

Ninety-two schools in twenty of these cities received Recognition Awards of $1,000, and Recognition Grants of $20,000 each were given to fifty schools, ten of which were in Chicago and eleven in New York.

The essence of what was transpiring in these big-city schools was captured in vignettes based on reports by the site visitors. They illustrate what it was about these schools that attracted recognition.

Morris High School, Bronx, New York

Morris High in the South Bronx is a very old building, architecturally distinguished but in poor physical condition. It is surrounded by burned-out and abandoned buildings. The atmosphere inside the school, however, is a far cry from the gloom of the neighborhood. The principal, staff, and 1,700 Hispanic and black students are joined together in the pursuit of achievement. They all understand that Morris may be the students' last chance to gain the skills they need to move up in the world. (Over 90 percent of the students are from low-income families.)

In the three years since the current principal was appointed, new rules for behavior, class work, and attendance have been clearly spelled out and enforced. Every course is described in writing, and a teacher-student contract specifies the responsibilities of each. A sequential approach stressing progressive mastery of skills is followed in all courses. Extensive support services help students overcome weaknesses. Morris has seven full-time counselors in addition to

grade advisors. Students who fail competency tests in reading, writing, and mathematics are assigned to remediation classes after careful diagnosis of their particular problems.

Morris has a variety of special programs, including bilingual education, medical and office techniques, humanities and communication arts, honors, and College Bound. It was found that students in these programs gained a sense of belonging to a personal, distinctive unit and that their passing rate exceeded the schoolwide rate. Therefore, the school last year assigned all entering ninth-graders to a specific program according to their interests, needs, and abilities.

Among Morris's other innovations are a hands-on vocational education program in the school offices and cafeteria and in North Central Bronx Hospital, and a program to introduce minority students to the engineering profession developed in cooperation with the State University of New York at Stony Brook.

Over the past four years, schoolwide attendance has improved by about 10 percent, with even more dramatic increases in grades eleven and twelve. During the same period, the number of students performing at or above grade level in reading and mathematics has increased by 10 percent as well. A rising percentage of students are also passing statewide examinations in English, mathematics, and science. Some 86 percent of Morris graduates go on to postsecondary training. Last year Morris students won scholarships and financial aid totaling $1 million of the $4 million available to the twenty-four schools that participated in the citywide College Bound program. By the eleventh grade many Morris students are proficient in using a computer; last year one student offered computer literacy courses to adults in the community as well as to several Morris teachers.

Strong emphasis is placed on staff development, and teachers are encouraged to develop proposals for outside funding of new programs. Most students participate in extracurricular activities, from academic clubs to sports to community service projects.

Washington Preparatory High School, Los Angeles, California

Washington's student body of 2,300 is 88 percent black, 12 percent Hispanic; more than three-quarters of them come from low-income families. The appointment of a new principal in 1979 was an important factor in the recent changes that have occurred in the school. He and the staff signaled their intention to emphasize the pursuit of academic excellence by renaming the school Washington Preparatory.

Magnet centers were established in communications arts and in mathematics and science. Uniform testing was instituted for all grade levels, followed by diagnosis of students' needs. Remedial and tutoring programs were introduced in all basic subjects. Volunteer tutors from local businesses and colleges, as well as the faculty, are available before and after school, during lunch hour, and on Saturdays to work with students needing help. A student-run program, "Project Together," has enlisted large numbers of students in such activities as counseling other students, community service, and exchanges with other schools.

A reorganized parents' advisory group has become one of the strongest forces for positive change at Washington Prep. It was instrumental in securing district funds to paint the school inside and out, to retile floors in heavy-traffic areas, to build a new lunch pavilion to ease the overcrowded conditions in the old cafeteria, and to create a "family room" in the school for parents. Parents also help check attendance, contact the families of absent students, and advise students who have problems, in or out of school.

Parents and teachers as well as the principal participate in the selection of new teachers, who are chosen not only for their academic specialties but also for their ability to work with students in a variety of contexts. Washington now has an enlarged marching band, a new string orchestra, and an annual musical or dramatic play. Students have won honors in the district's Academic Decathlon, spelling bee, and mock trial contest.

Through the combined efforts of security personnel, deans, counselors, and parents, Washington has become one of the safest schools in the district. Incidents of vandalism, student fighting, drug abuse, and weapons possession have declined dramatically. A higher percentage of students are graduating than previously, and some 90 percent go on to college or to other further training. Increasing numbers of students, including the academically advanced, now elect to go to Washington Prep rather than to public or private schools outside the area.

Lincoln Park High School, Chicago, Illinois

The area served by Lincoln Park is a study in urban contrasts: expensive high-rise apartments in the east (the Gold Coast); low-income public housing in the south; factories and small businesses to the west; and single-family houses and small apartments in the north and center.

Built in 1901 and called Waller High School until 1980, the school suffered all the stresses of social and demographic change that led to racial tensions and violence in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Many families transferred their children to private schools; others moved to the suburbs or further northwest.

Then, partly as a result of upper-income housing development in parts of the district, pressure built to "do something about Waller." The transformation started with the appointment of a new district superintendent in 1975. She helped the school to introduce innovative programs and to recruit students for them: the International Baccalaureate (it is the only school in Illinois and one of only thirty-three in the United States authorized to offer this program, which offers rigorous courses in languages, science, mathematics, and the humanities, and an internationally recognized diploma); a four-year college preparatory school of the arts; a school of languages; and a school of mathematics and science.

Initially, these special programs provided Lincoln Park's main attraction to able students, both white and minority. In the past three years the principal and an able staff have so strengthened the general high school program that the special offerings are being trimmed. Enrollment has increased and become increasingly diversified. Currently, the student body is 57 percent black, 24 percent white, 15 percent Hispanic, and 4 percent Asian. The faculty has been expanded, and there have been major improvements in the school's building and grounds. The city of Chicago created a park next to the school and a mall and amphitheater in front of it.

Lincoln Park has risen from being near the bottom of the scale of the sixty schools in its district to among the top quarter. Special education students are quickly brought into the school's mainstream. Academic achievement has improved among all students, including low achievers—test scores in reading have increased by 16 percentile points in the past three years. There is a strong, cohesive school spirit, focused on learning. At this point there is little difference between the general high school population and those in the magnet programs. The general student population is growing. There is now a waiting list to get into Lincoln Park.

Albert Sidney Johnston High School, Austin, Texas

Johnston's motto, "We Can Make It Work," was born in 1980, on the eve of court-ordered desegregation. The desegregation plan called

for busing of both white and minority students (previously only blacks had been bused to white schools). Johnston, with an enrollment 99 percent Hispanic and black, was the only school in the district scheduled to receive a large influx of white students.

The plan went into effect in the 1980–81 school year. Some 700 white students from the upper middle-class northwest and working-class southwest sections of the city were bused to Johnston, and 300 minority students were bused to other schools.

Some families were worried about the quality of education their children would receive at Johnston; others feared for their children's safety. Meeting these concerns head-on, Johnston school leaders began an intensive community education program to dispel fears and stereotypes, to make the new students, teachers, and parents feel welcome, and to help old Johnstonians make the transition to a new educational environment. Teachers transferred into Johnston were quickly integrated into faculty planning and curriculum review committees.

After desegregation, Johnston grew from 1,200 to 1,800 students—49 percent white, 34 percent Hispanic, 16 percent black, and 1 percent Asian. Faculty increased from 85 to 107. The economic background of the students shifted from predominantly low-income to all socioeconomic levels.

Major changes were made in curriculum and the physical plant. Psychology and sociology courses were added. Honors programs in science and language arts were established in each grade. Advanced courses in French, Latin, biology, chemistry, and mathematics were introduced. Physical additions included the largest and most sophisticated computer center in the district, a new science wing, a new band hall, and a new athletics center.

Johnston also has programs in special education, writing, English-as-a-second-language, and industrial training. Test scores have risen among minority students; those of whites have remained about the same. Busing remains an irritant to some students and their parents, but every effort is made to enable those from a distance to participate in school affairs. Buses are available in the late afternoons, and parents frequently organize car pools for evening events.

Today, Johnston is academically competitive with every other school in Austin. Surveys have documented how proud students are to be a part of Johnston. The Johnston story also suggests that the merging of various racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic groups can be a positive experience for all.

Thomas Edison High School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Nine years ago a visitor to Edison High School was warned not to walk around by herself. Then an all-boys school, Edison had a reputation for toughness. The building was antiquated, in an advanced state of deterioration, and considered hazardous. Graffiti covered the walls inside and out, as many as one-third of the students were absent every day, and enrollment was declining steadily. Since then, Edison has become coeducational and the promise of a new building has progressed to the stage where land has been purchased and architects selected (it is scheduled to open in 1986). A new principal has been in place since 1975 and students and staff have responded enthusiastically to his leadership. Morale is high, halls and classroom are clean and orderly, discipline and average daily attendance have improved considerably.

Yet the problems Edison faces, beyond its depressed physical surroundings, are daunting. Of the 2,200-member student body (49 percent Hispanic, 42 percent black, and 9 percent white), over 60 percent are from low-income families, many of them with severe personal as well as socioeconomic problems. Student test scores, though improving, are still the lowest in the city. Because of poor facilities, extracurricular activities are limited—there are no athletic fields, for example—nor is there even a lunchroom. Snacks are eaten in homerooms.

To confront pressing academic problems, Edison has instituted remedial programs in reading and mathematics; organized Mission Excellence, which offers intensive assistance to students lagging in basic skills; introduced a special education program for handicapped students; and opened regular classes to adults so they can earn high school diplomas. The school's Applied Academy of Electrical Sciences has been expanded and strengthened. As part of their schoolwork, students renovate abandoned houses near the school, and the city then sells them to low-income people in the community. A motivation program for students with college potential has resulted in an increase of graduates continuing their education from 27 percent to 45 percent.

Several new teachers and ten Spanish-speaking paraprofessionals have been added to the bilingual program, resulting not only in improved instruction but also in better relations with the surrounding Hispanic community. Community support for Edison has increased substantially through the efforts of community and parents' advisory boards. Parents now take a strong interest in school activities, and the

principal and faculty keep the parents informed of their children's progress and problems.

There were no important differences between the schools that comprised the first- and second-year samples. What was happening in the smaller and mid-size urban centers was happening in the larger ones as well. People of good will were turning schools around, countering the upheaval and dysfunction of earlier years with a firm but sensitive hand and tightly organized programs. Efforts were under way to reduce tension, to ensure safety, and to raise standards and aspirations. Whether in Baltimore or Philadelphia, Chicago or San Jose, there were hopeful examples of everything from dropout centers to advanced placement courses and from the care of teenage mothers to the improvement of basic skills.

The notion that schools in large cities would be more troubled than their counterparts in less populous areas was mistaken. The density and size of a particular city seemed to offer little correlation with the spirit and quality of its schools.

What the Ford Foundation discovered in its two-year journey through some 300 high schools in fifty-six cities was a *national* phenomenon of renewal, neither limited to, nor shaped by, particular locations. This renewal has developed an energy of its own that has fueled remarkable progress. Because it is rooted in local schools and has the support of parents, students, and teachers, its potential would seem unbounded.

II

Impressions of the site visitors

Following their visits to the schools in 1982 and 1983, the site visitors met as a group to share impressions of what they had seen. Their informal conversations contained far-ranging observations about city high schools, firsthand reports of school life, and considerable insight into the quest for better schools.

Although their discussions were not originally intended for publication, the Foundation decided to make them more widely available in an effort to deepen the public's understanding of urban schools. The conversations were edited to facilitate the flow of the exchange and to sharpen the focus on particular topics. As in the sessions themselves, no effort was made to draw conclusions or to build consensus around any viewpoints.

To put their remarks in perspective, it should be kept in mind that the schools being discussed share the following characteristics:*

- Most serve between 1,500 and 3,000 students in grades nine through twelve. They have experienced a sharp decline in enrollment and are therefore not seriously overcrowded. Most of the schools, old and new, are in big buildings, which gives them a sprawling rather than intimate feeling.
- On average, between 50 percent and 70 percent of their students are from low-income families, although in many schools that percentage is as high as 90 percent. Many of the students live in communities that are severely deprived.
- Court-ordered desegregation plans and massive demographic shifts have changed the schools' racial composition. All ex-

*These characteristics have been drawn from an analysis of the data collected from the participating schools. The analysis was conducted by Dr. Barbara Loomis Jackson, director of doctoral studies in education at Morgan State University in Baltimore, Maryland. Dr. Jackson was also a site visitor.

perienced upheaval in the process. Most lost large numbers of white students.

- Their enrollments are made up predominantly of minority students. In well over half the schools blacks or Hispanics are in the majority. About one-quarter of the schools visited have a black enrollment of over 90 percent.
- They offer a general curriculum that includes a wide range of job-training courses but few advanced placement courses. Their requirements for graduation, especially in mathematics and the sciences, are not stringent.
- They are increasingly subject to state and city minimum competency standards and testing and have had to reorganize their instructional programs to meet those requirements.
- They feel that special-entrance and magnet schools have "creamed off" the ablest students.
- They have lost teachers, counselors, support personnel, and instructional resources as a result of severe budget cuts at every level of government. They have been particularly hard hit by cutbacks in federal support of compensatory programs for low-income and non-English-speaking students.
- The schools considered several external and internal factors as critical to their improvement. Among the external factors cited frequently were the extra resources provided to carry out court-mandated desegregation; the additional funds made available to meet changes in state requirements for graduation; and help from business and industry, along with some assistance from higher education institutions. Among the internal forces for change cited were school-based leadership (in many cases generated by the principal); a stable, versatile, and cooperative faculty and staff; and consensus within the school about standards for discipline, attendance, and expectations for students and teachers.

Impressions of 1982

DEBRA WEINER:* A recurring theme in all the schools I visited was that there was at one time a period of considerable disruption. In schools with both black and white kids, much of the disruption was racial in nature; in schools that were almost all black or almost all white, there was kind of a generalized bad discipline and a lot of bad acting on the part of the kids. The intensity of that negative climate varied tremendously, from a school in which 125 kids were hospitalized after three riots in a week, to places where it was just a lot of lip.

Many of the people in the schools I visited felt that things had gotten better on their own. Society changed, that anger, or whatever it was, spent itself. Others felt that improvement was hastened because of certain things that people in schools did. The difference in my mind is this: the schools that have really made strides, that have gone beyond what the calming-down process would have produced, are the schools that had really active principals who were aggressive in their leadership, established close relationships with kids, knew almost every kid's name in their schools. Those schools have a palpable spirit now that the other schools that are just "better" don't have.

JACQUELINE DANZBERGER:** In the three cities I visited the things that were said to have happened in the 1970s did happen, but the schools are not that way today. I found incredible order in the schools and, in most cases, an easy interaction among students from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds. There was a deep sense of caring on the part of a majority of the faculty—not all, but the majority.

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**Jacqueline Danzberger is director of the Work/Education Fellowship Program, Institute for Educational Leadership, in Washington, D.C.

It was interesting that when I asked the teachers whether doors were locked, and if so, why, they said it wasn't because of the students in the school, but to make sure that people who shouldn't be there, shouldn't be able to get into classes, were kept out. The perception of the faculty and administrators was that the problems were really on the outside rather than inside.

SHARON FRANZ:* I could not get over how pleasant the kids were. I walked along the hall and they smiled. Most probably they didn't know why I was there. Just a smile, how are you—courteous, terrific kids. And I didn't hear about drugs. They all said, there might be drugs here, but there's no open smoking of regular cigarettes, let alone pot. They said, sure, some kids are doing it, but it's not prevalent. There was very little violence. The kids in general are basically very happy to be in a school that is running right.

EVELYN M. DAVILA:** I was surprised at how well cared for the schools were. Mostly, everywhere I went, the schools were clean. The halls, walls, floors, were clean; there were no papers on the stairs. The faculty and students said that was very important for their programs and for their overall school climate. The students considered it more important than the teachers did. In fact, the only students that I heard anything negative from were two groups who felt that their schools were the ugliest in the district. They were upset that their bathrooms were dirty, that the walls were filthy, that their school didn't compare to the other schools. That was their main complaint about the school.

FRANZ: In some schools that had had a choice in making staff reductions, they dropped custodial staff. Maintenance went down. Floors were dirty, windows weren't cleaned, and that touched the kids. In one school the principal said, "We had to lay people off in our schools, but we're going to get it together." In that school I saw signs everywhere about keeping the building clean. And the kids had done a whole photograph album of problems in the school—chipping paint and broken window panes, for example. They had gone as a group, with their par-

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**Evelyn M. Davila is director of the Urban University Study, The College Board, Washington, D.C.

ents, to the school board, to get things done, and they got them done. The school board did make repairs and a paint job.

That principal's whole philosophy was you take the negative and you go past it; you do positive things. But it was interesting how important cleanliness and upkeep were. Kids really did care about that. It was important to them that somebody cared enough to keep their school in good shape. If they thought that was being done, then they would cooperate. But if that wasn't being done, it really took a lot of push to get those kids moving in that direction.

BLENDA WILSON:* In two of the three schools I visited there was an alternative to suspension. Students were assigned to clean up the school on Saturday mornings. In addition, the schools had clubs that worked on the grounds. One had a horticulture program, where the students took care of shrubbery and flowers and also did regular weeding and raking. Somehow, that all added up to "the school is ours; it belongs to us and we take care of what belongs to us."

RICHARD LACEY:** Yes, but I also found considerable frustration, both in the central offices and in the schools, about public perceptions of the schools. Kids, black and white, say they resent the impression that they're animals. Teachers resent it, too, and so do principals and parents. They do all they can to try to turn that attitude around, but in one school they showed me articles in the local paper that week that blasted the school again. I was in that school, and I could see the article was not true.

WEINER: One of the schools I visited opened in 1976. It was a $23 million building, built for the purposes of desegregation—the first wave of desegregation in that city, as I understand it. It took kids who had been attending or would have attended four different high schools, two almost all black, and two almost all white. And the press, radio, and TV camped out on the lawn at the school for the first month it was open, waiting for the riots.

Six years later, the people in that school still feel that attitude very keenly. They believe that people outside the school, out-

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**Richard Lacey is an independent education consultant based in New York City.

side their immediate families, still cannot see their school as anything other than a powder keg waiting to explode. My sense is that the school is extremely far from that, but it is still suffering from a pervasive bad rap.

LACEY: One superintendent said he believed that people don't want to believe that schools have settled down and that good things are going on in them. The public does not really want to believe it, he said, because the real issue is desegregation. If it can work in the schools, it can work in society, in the boardroom, in companies, in neighborhoods, in housing. It can work anyplace.

ROBERT BROWN:* I visited seven schools in a Southern state, and I found almost an obsession with the whole desegregation process. They all wanted to talk about how they had come through it. Almost invariably, they would say either that things were worse before desegregation or much better than they are now. It was interesting to see how that broke down in the historically black schools. There was a feeling that something was lost in the process of desegregation. White faculty were perceived as not being as committed to black children as black teachers are. Maybe we had fewer resources prior to desegregation, they said, but we did the best we could with what we had. Now we have a sense that people here are not dedicated to these kids.

On the other, predominantly white side of town, I got the opposite impression; that is, yes, we may have suffered a little bit as far as the educational process and the educational needs of the children are concerned, but we've gained a lot in human relations.

FRANZ: Most of the faculties and principals wanted me to understand that there was no segregation, when in fact it was apparent that there was in some schools. One of the schools I visited has a 40–60 mix of black and white students. As I walked through classrooms I saw complete integration. But in the cafeteria, there was a table of blacks, a table of whites, a table of blacks, and so on. Only three or four tables were integrated. When I

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talked to the kids about that they said they always separate at lunch, but that I shouldn't worry about it, because "We do fine together in class. We work well together in class. We work well together on teams."

I asked several white kids if they had ever seen any prejudice or discrimination toward black kids in class. They said, no, never. "The teachers are really fair around here." So I asked if they had ever heard a teacher suggest that a black student couldn't or didn't have to do the same assignment as the whites. They got very quiet, and one girl said, "Well, in my senior English class, the teacher told me that footnotes were optional," which is a reverse kind of discrimination. It's pretty subtle.

PAUL NACHTIGAL:* I was impressed by the comfortable relationship existing in multi-ethnic student bodies. I saw five or six different ethnic groups in some schools, and the harmony in those schools just amazed me. I also did not detect a lot of breaking down of activities by different ethnic groups. The basketball teams, the cheerleaders, whatever, seemed to be representative of the student body.

One group that seems to have difficulty getting involved are the Asians, who are just coming in and have a language problem. Another group are the American Indians. Many have to take a bus twenty or thirty miles from the pueblos where they live, and others may have another ten-mile walk if they live way out on the reservation.

LACEY: In one school I visited, desegregation was once an issue, but now everybody thinks everything is okay: the blacks and the whites are getting along together. But the Appalachian kids are not in school on Monday and they're not in school on Friday. They're a new underclass, and they're slipping through the cracks all over the place, but nobody is talking about it. Yet everything is supposed to be great because the school is desegregated.

NACHTIGAL: Control ran through all seven schools that I visited. And it was even more than control. It was getting kids into

*Paul Nachtigal is a senior associate with the Mid-Continent Regional Educational Laboratory, Denver, Colorado.

class. That seems like a normal thing, but it represents a distinct difference between schools then and now.

In one school teachers have given up their planning periods, X number of days a week, to roam the halls and to make sure that students are in class. It was done in a very comfortable way. It's not threatening. The students know the rules of the game. If they are out of class, they're going to be picked up and taken to a counselor.

As a result of that one program, school statistics show that their failure rate has gone down something like 29 percent. The teachers are happy about that. They're willing to give up their time to make the school work, which I think is a real switch in staff attitudes.

MARGARET HEIN:* The thing I found very different from the situation a few years ago was the concern about attendance and tardiness. A lot of kids weren't coming to school ten years ago, but everywhere I went attendance was 90 percent to 95 percent. I have never seen such strict procedures for making sure students get to school. If days are missed, the parents have to come to school. The schools don't call the parent and say, "Can you come to school tomorrow?" They say, "We will have a conference tomorrow at ten o'clock about your child." The schools don't feel they're being oppressive. They say they are training the students to be responsible. But the parents had to be behind them.

The schools were just as stern about tardiness. If the students don't get someplace on time, they get so many detentions, and that's generally understood. After three detentions, the parents have to come in to school. If that's bad control, so be it.

The next thing that really surprised me was how much talking there is about the curriculum and instruction and improving teaching. That's not what was happening ten years ago.

FRANZ: I think a lot of the change in climate right now has to do with the relationship between kids and teachers. The first thing the kids focus on is the quality of their teachers and the relationship they have with their teachers.

*Margaret Gill Hein is an independent education consultant based in Arkadelphia, Arkansas.

When I pressed them on what made a good teacher, they said it was someone who kept the classroom quiet and then taught. It was not just someone keeping the classroom quiet. Those kids had enough sense to realize that the quality of the teaching is important, too.

The best principals were both disciplinarians and instructional leaders. They were delegating the discipline problem, but there was a responsibility for it, and they saw it as something they wanted to take care of. But they also saw themselves as educational leaders, working at curriculum and developing courses. The change in curriculum that I saw was astounding. The courses some kids were taking—in calculus, economics, sociology and psychology, pre-engineering—were just as amazing.

WILSON: I found that the schools were very clear on what they wanted. They wanted structure, they wanted discipline, and they wanted to improve attendance overall. If you asked school staff what they were trying to do, they talked about the fact that a high school education does not have the value it once had, particularly for black kids. If they're going to get ahead, they need to know how to behave.

So teachers talked about how students should look, what they should and should not wear and how they should behave—no comb in your hair, no hat on your head, stand up tall, use proper English. There was a lot of value education, ethical education, and it was taught informally and formally throughout the schools I visited.

NACHTIGAL: I counted about four stages of development that seemed to fit a lot of the schools I visited.

The control issue, getting some structure back, was priority number one, and that was tackled first.

Then they moved on to deal with teacher morale, trying to get teachers enthusiastic about the whole situation.

A third step was to add courses to accommodate students with special needs of one kind or another—for example, students on third- or fourth-grade reading level.

The fourth level of development was to begin to restructure the curriculum so that it would accommodate those students without special programs. That restructuring took a number of different forms. Some schools narrowed the curriculum; they were getting back to basics, doing away with some of the frill

courses and concentrating on what's important. In some schools, basic courses like language arts were broken down into basic, regular, and advanced. At the same time, they were also trying to stretch students' expectations by encouraging them to take more difficult courses. Some even had a demanding track—science, mathematics, and language arts—as a way of accommodating the spread.

Generally, it seemed to me that the schools are now really adjusting to the reality of their student body, which in many cases has changed. In the academic program they are saying "We've got to meet the students where they are and make basic changes in the curriculum."

BROWN: At a historically black school I visited, there was a lot of emphasis on meeting all of the needs of the children, not only the academic needs. For pregnant students and students who had children, the school had a nursery, so the students could continue their education. It was available whether they had a child out of wedlock or in wedlock. They also have a counseling program for unwed mothers (males are also required to attend the sessions), and next year they hope to have a comprehensive health clinic at the school.

TERRY CLARK:* What I picked up in the three high schools I visited was that the staff, the administrators, and the parents were very much tuned in to providing a high school program that would give children skills and values that would help them hold a job and survive in the community—by which they meant their own city. There was a sense of parochialism. There was no sense of high expectations for kids to go on to college, or even that those going on to college would do anything more than what they would be able to achieve in their own city. Most of the children who did go to four-year colleges went to a college in their state.

When I asked the president of the parents' association in one of the schools about these low expectations, he said "We've been so used to strife here, and now things are going so well and are so quiet and peaceful that really all we want for our chil-

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dren is that they be well-rounded citizens who can hold jobs." That was the level of expectation.

WILSON: One of the most impressive schools I visited was in an old building. There was almost no place where there wasn't something on a bulletin board, some sign on a wall, some picture. You could go into that school when it was empty and get a lesson just walking around the halls. There was a heavy emphasis on black culture, black history. There was an incredible sense of message-giving at that school. My memory has probably exaggerated the significance of that, but it was a very rich, natural environment.

LACEY: I visited a school that has a program called "Be Proud Aloud." It sounds corny, but it works. One of its main points is that everybody has something going for him or for her. The program advertises something about a particular individual on a given day, or all through a week, by flying a flag outside the school and putting up a big picture of the person inside. There are also announcements over the public address system about that person in the middle of the day, and a little memorandum is sent around about him or her. The kids take this really seriously and it has made a big difference. The flag is always flying, and the kids know that it's flying for somebody in that school. I got a real sense of the value they place on individuals in that school. I could see and feel it in the school environment.

PETER BUTTENWIESER:* One of the things we have not spoken about is "values." Three of the schools I visited had a quiet, understated internal order that was very beautiful. I saw very little that was classy educationally, but I saw a human value system that absolutely hit me the minute I walked in. It was apparent in every single transaction in the three schools—between children, between children and adults, and between adults and adults. I was struck by it because it seems to me that the value system is very traditional and it is stated in very traditional terms, terms that many from a more liberal tradition might have trouble with. It's very achievement-oriented. It's very awards-

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oriented. It's oriented to getting the kids into college, getting them into jobs, and into honor societies, helping them become National Merit scholars. There's very much a family feeling in these schools, and there's a lot of talk that with the breakdown of communities and the fact that kids are coming to school with a lot of problems, that these schools are going to take care of the kids.

I just want to tell you one thing that really got to me. It was in a school in the South that has 750 students, 60 percent black, 40 percent white. All the kids were poor and all lived right around the school, which was up on the top of a hill. I spoke with a white girl, a junior, who had cerebral palsy, which was very noticeable in her speech, in her walk, everything. She told me, and I later heard about it from others, that last year, a boy who was a senior then, a black boy, went to the principal of the school, a white man, and asked if he could give a personal award, his own award. So the principal said, sure, if you want to give an award, you give an award.

The boy thought it over for two or three weeks and then went back to the principal and said I want to give an award for perseverance to this girl, whose name was Lisa. So they staged a whole assembly, and the boy got up and gave his own personal award. As the girl came struggling up the steps of the assembly hall stage, 700 kids were up on their feet, going crazy cheering and yelling. That kind of thing goes on in that school all the time. It's the norm and not the exception.

It really stunned me because I wasn't ready for it. I wasn't ready for people who are putting their value system out front and are willing to talk about it. I think that's what is making the great schools work, that and the clarity of the value system, and its simplicity. That, I think, is what is separating the places that work from the places that are not working.

LONNIE WAGSTAFF:* A cautionary note. I'm concerned about returning to some values. I grew up in the South, and we prayed a lot. We had some awfully poor schools down there, even while those so-called values held sway. Don't forget, the symbol of the Klan is a cross, and I saw a lot of those burn.

*Lonnie Wagstaff is associate superintendent, Fort Worth Independent School District, Fort Worth, Texas.

BROWN: I think the point about values is that people are simply moving to where they feel comfortable. They went through a very tumultuous period when they were unsure about a lot of things. Now a lot of them, maybe in the South especially, feel comfortable with a kind of spiritual atmosphere in the school. The question I have is, how far is that going to move us ahead? Are we just going to say, well, we've somehow solved our problems. We care about each other. What is that going to mean, as far as improving the quality of the academic programs is concerned? That question is difficult to answer at this point, but it is really a concern. Another is whether, especially in all-black settings, we are creating a new kind of passivity, one that is not very healthy.

Teachers and others said to me, "Well, we no longer have children who hang out on the corner. That may be good for discipline, but the effect is that there's a conscious effort to isolate students, to get students away from thinking about their community, about things beyond the school building, except for something narrow like a job. It's not education preparing students to cope with the world, but training for a job. It really is back to traditional stuff for the black community. In earlier days in the South, the high schools were called training schools, because that's what they were designed to do, train the students for work. They were not supposed to think about the world, about what was going on around them. They were to be trained for a job. So going back to traditional values has both positives and negatives, but I think that we have to be very much aware that there are both.

DANZBERGER: I would like to comment about the return to values. Very baldly, those values only worked for one group in this country before the 1960s and 1970s. I would caution that we not say that we're returning to the values of the "once-before," because we're not. What we're doing is maybe extending some of those values, in the sense of opening options to a whole other group of people who simply wouldn't have had them if we had not gone through what we did. I just wanted that to be on the table.

WEINER: I'd like to pick up on that. I think that what is going on in many of the schools I saw—after awful disruption, and now something better emerging—reminds me somehow of a family

in which a kid goes astray and then comes back. Somehow people held on, hoping that it was going to get better, and now it has. It's as if the schools that we knew and loved went through some horrendous psychotic episode and are now back to being our schools.

BARBARA JACKSON:* I can't buy that altogether. There were changes in the leadership of some schools. There were more black principals and more black teachers for one thing. I don't think we can ignore the influence of black leaders, which may partly explain the spiritual factor.

WAGSTAFF: What came through to me was when somebody took initiative, something happened. In some cases it was taken by a principal who had a sense of mission, goals, objectives, and enough courage to step out and say "We want to move in this direction." Then the principal would get others to join forces with him or her, to begin to move in that particular direction. It was the initiative that counted, the fact that somebody wanted to do something to change the situation and make it better.

I saw clusters of teachers doing the same thing. I saw some dynamos. They were willing to come early, to stay late, to give of themselves to students. Even if the principal was not willing to take initiative, the teachers were, and they pulled the principal along.

I also saw clusters of students, very articulate students, who had some ideas about the kind of education they wanted and what they wanted their futures to be. They were pushing, too. They pushed teachers and principals. If doors closed, they would press to make them open up.

I also saw some community-school cooperation. In one place, where there had been a great deal of gang activity, the gangs seemed at one point about to close the school down. The people in the community-school program decided to invite the gang members in one night. They found out that many in the gang didn't have high school diplomas or any credentials at all. So they brought them into the program. Later, they had a big graduation for the gang members. The mayor was the commencement speaker; the media came out.

*Barbara Loomis Jackson is director of doctoral studies in education, Morgan State University, Baltimore, Maryland.

Now the gang members support and protect the school. So again, the situation was turned around by people who saw that something could be done and did it.

LACEY: I want to say amen to the point about who takes the initiative and about people finally wanting to do something.

In one school, the department heads and teachers got together after they had gotten disastrous results on tests and negative media publicity about that. They were determined to help the kids get better results in the future. Where did the leadership come from? It came from two or three people, and particularly an assistant principal. In other places, a dynamic principal came in and took charge and made a safe school out of one that had been totally unsafe before. Who takes initiative is important, but so are the conditions that force people to decide they have to take some initiative.

I think the simplistic notion that the principal is the key is not necessarily true. I became aware of all kinds of leadership, including leadership from parents. In one school that has a large group of poor Appalachian migrants who don't have shoes and don't attend school regularly, the parents of the other students are reaching out to the Appalachian parents, taking them into the school and driving them to meetings in an attempt to build a more coherent school community.

WEINER: One of the things that I think is very important is the messages emanating from the superintendent's office. Principals don't usually talk about central administration with a lot of fondness, but I found a very remarkable situation in one city. The principals are absolutely thrilled that this new superintendent deals with instruction. He has already instituted a basic skills assessment program, reinstituted standardized tests, and instituted a training program for all principals to help them become instructional leaders. The training is very focused—how to observe a teacher, how you can tell in ten minutes what a teacher's strengths and weaknesses are. In fact, that superintendent is going to put every high school teacher through a nine-week refresher course in a teacher center, starting next year.

DANZBERGER: I found some very, very creative teachers who were taking hold and initiating new things. But there is a major concern about aging staff. In two schools I visited, they said it

was increasingly difficult to get sponsors for student activities, because the people who had been doing that were getting older. Traditionally, the younger teachers have taken those jobs, particularly where there is a collective bargaining agreement and there is some extra stipend. The younger teachers also have more energy. Next year, the average age of the teachers in that city will be forty-three. That has some implications for life at the schools themselves and for role models for minority youngsters and youngsters from different ethnic backgrounds, because the younger teachers and the minority teachers are definitely the ones who are leaving, unless they're in a highly specialized area that requires their retention. The faculty themselves are concerned about role models for the youngsters.

HEIN: I don't have quite as many good things to say about teachers and their attitudes toward students as some of you. There's always a core of committed teachers, but one of the things that bothered me in a lot of the schools was that I didn't find total commitment on the part of the majority of teachers in lots of places. Some of the teachers do not want to be teaching in the schools they're in.

But I think the other thing that's happening is uncertainty on the part of teachers; they don't know where they're going to be next year. For example, in one high school eleven teachers took early retirement in January, because they got a $15,000 incentive to do so. Others will not know until September who will be there teaching what, because that's the way the budget goes. So there is uncertainty. But also, I saw some of the youngest department heads I've ever seen. When have you seen a twenty-five-year-old woman head the English department in a high school? I saw one. As some people are choosing early retirement, the young people who ordinarily might be the ones they were getting rid of have a chance to move into leadership roles.

BUTTENWIESER: It seemed to me that a ticking time bomb in all of the schools was their inability—partly because of resources, partly because of the way our society is structured—to deal with the problem of teenage pregnancy. It's the greatest single problem many of them face. Not that the problem was nonexistent in high schools in the 1940s and 1950s. It was there but it wasn't as large and it was handled differently. I think teenage pregnancy is representative of a class of problems that make

high schools today different from high schools we may have known before. It's right at the top of problems about real living and coping and surviving.

DANZBERGER: I would like to share an anecdote from one city I visited where teenage pregnancy is an epidemic problem.

At one high school, which stresses preparation for the world of work, there had been an incredible increase in the number of students who were pregnant. So the counselors decided they would start a program that would involve the pregnant students' mothers. Many of these women had themselves dropped out of school when they became pregnant at fifteen or sixteen. They were on welfare and their choices in life had been few. The counselors thought that the mothers would try to help their daughters stay out of that trap. To their surprise, they found that, in many instances, the mothers were encouraging their daughter to have babies. The counselors would say to the girls in school, "You won't be able to do this or that if you have a baby. Have you thought about the responsibility?" And the girls would reply, "There's no problem. My mother is going to take care of the baby."

I think this says a lot about how deep the problem is, and how far back we have to go to get the community organized around it.

WILSON: I was overwhelmingly pleased at the new attitude in schools toward teenage pregnancy. I remember when it was something that ruined a young woman's life, period. That doesn't happen now. A girl who has a child can come back to school, and often there is a center where the baby will be taken care of. The ostracism and the moral horror that greeted teenage pregnancies in the past is gone, and I happen to think that's an advance in compassion and caring.

I'm not saying it's not a problem in an objective, economic sense, but in a personal, moral, emotional sense, I'm very glad it's not the way it used to be.

FRANZ: I talked to one guidance counselor about the pregnancy issue and asked her how they got across the idea that this is a human life they are responsible for. It's not a puppy dog that they can give to the pound if they can't train it. I asked how

they got that across without sending the message that the kids are no good, that they're worthless and evil.

This lady was, I think, very tough in tracking down the boy friends. She wasn't focusing on the girls, which was unusual. But she made it clear to the girls that they were to continue to come to school, finish their education, and get their lives in order as much as they could, because they were going to be parents and they had a responsibility. All the schools I was in wanted the pregnant teenagers and young mothers back in school. In some schools there were day-care centers, so that the mothers could come to school.

HEIN: One state I visited now has a required course in personal and social living. It was prompted by the fact that there are more pregnancies among seventh- and eighth-graders. One school had fifteen pregnant seventh- and eighth-graders the previous fall semester, which pushed them to do something. In other places I saw day-care centers. In a couple the mothers have to work in the nursery to be entitled to bring their babies. I also saw some young men in them. The students take courses in parenthood, and the courses are fully staffed. I think it almost comes under vocational education. There's federal funding for that. One city has an evening school that the pregnant girls from all the schools attend. The idea is they'll feel better if they're working during the day.

KENNETH TEWEL:* There seems to be a tremendous effort to reorganize schools to serve previously ignored segments of the population. And teachers in many schools are beginning to look at what might be scaring kids away or making the environment divisive. There are more and more efforts to reach out and draw dropouts back. Teachers are also looking at different learning styles. Schools traditionally expected kids to fit into a mold. They had a prescription, and youngsters were expected to adapt to it, whether it was dressing a certain way or what have you. But now schools seem to be trying to adjust to the different ways kids learn, whether it's in blocks of time, or time of day or so on. And they are not calling a difference a disability; they are accepting the difference as a difference.

*Kenneth Tewel is principal of Westinghouse High School in New York City.

Another thing I see is that the schools are doing a better job now seeing the person as a person, as an individual. They're doing a better job, and they're talking about it less.

ELLEN SUMMERFIELD:** In the city I visited, the schools were trying to meet many special needs of the students. They had a program on maternal and infant care for teenagers who had babies. Students came to it from all over the city and were taught how to care for the infants. But they also attended regular school classes.

That city also had a program for potential dropouts. The schools selected special teachers to work with kids who were coming in late or leaving early, or who were just bad actors, and it seemed to be working very well.

In that city, the main emphasis is definitely on jobs and careers. Every high school has at least one business partner and most have several. The schools have programs in hotel and restaurant management, food services, real estate, banking—you name it. Most of the seniors work for half a day. The schools start at seven-thirty, and by noon there aren't many upperclassmen in the halls, because they're working and they're being paid. It's a very active, aggressive program, and many of the students get jobs after they graduate.

HEIN: In one city the businessmen decided a few years ago that the city's major corporations should each adopt a school, and they did. One company has had an adopted school for nine years. One of its vice presidents is assigned to the school, and an individual from each company department works with a comparable department in the school. They don't raise money. They do projects to enrich the curriculum and some research that the school could never afford on its own. Many of the schools had career counselors. They had been hired as teachers, but they teach about careers. Computer terminals are set aside and the kids are really using them.

LACEY: One city I visited had a pre-employment center outside the schools. Teachers and administrators reported that kids who go to the center, some for job training, others for pre-employment

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training in punctuality, dress, speech, and so on, have changed attitudes when they come back into the school. It's as if they had been away for two years, although it is usually only a few weeks. The center placed different expectations on them. So they became better students, had better school attitudes in school and more purpose in what they were doing.

TEWEL: I'd agree that there is definitely a concern about vocational education and a new focus on training kids for work. In some places it is beginning to work well; in others it's awful. It's a spotty thing, and it depends upon the local community. Too often, what's passing for vocational education or training is confusing, and too often there is not enough emphasis on the future. From what I've seen, I'd say schools are not preparing kids for the next generation of jobs, but for what they think will be the next generation of jobs.

For example, schools in one city spent $1 million on new stenography equipment and a brand new curriculum in steno, because the offices in the city need more stenographers. However, the office of the future is not going to be based on stenographic skills. Office skills will be based upon highly technical information, upon word and data processing. Yet the school system in that city is gearing up to do just what's not going to be needed. In another city I saw four new machine shops, but there will be few machinists' jobs in that city in the next ten to twenty years.

EDWARD MEADE:* It's a paradox. Schools are ahead in some ways—for example, in accepting the phenomenon of teenage mothers—but in other ways they are way behind the times and the communities they're in.

WEINER: In one city I visited, a kind of working-class town, the occupational connection is the one on which the schools work hardest. Maybe that is because getting a job is harder and more competitive than continuing with education. Anyone can go to a community college simply by graduating from high school, regardless of grades. And many of the students are going to colleges that have open admissions policies.

*Edward Meade is a chief program officer, Ford Foundation, New York City.

The emphasis on the occupational connection was evident in the assignment of school staff whose only responsibility is to go out and find jobs for kids during the school day, after school, and after they graduate. If students work the school day, they get credit for it, and the school staff monitors their performance on the job. There is also a lot of attention to formal links with big business, with a business adopting a high school, for example. This works out unevenly in practice, but the job orientation is certainly serious.

WILSON: The attitude toward vocational courses has changed. Teachers see it not as an end in itself, but as a means to an end. These kids want to go on to further education, but they need some kind of skill so they can get a job and then go on to higher education. So vocational courses are being offered, and teachers are finding jobs for the kids. They will get in touch with people and say, "I've got three kids who have these skills; can you use them?"

The schools are also teaching kids how to take tests and telling them how important the tests are. Counselors go into the classroom and tell the students that the tests will be used for placement, that test results will be with the students for the rest of their lives, wherever they go, and that they've got to understand that their student records are important.

Some standardized tests were taking place while I was visiting. The students were worried about them, which was something I did not see eight or ten years ago, when I was teaching high school. Then they took forty-minute tests in fifteen minutes. They didn't care.

I think the difference between now and the 1950s and 1960s may be the sense that fewer people are going to "make it." Society is not the way it used to be. And particularly in a black environment, these schools are saying, either the students have got to stretch themselves and learn what is important across the board, or they're not going to have a chance to make it in this world. For the schools it's a question of making sure that students know what is expected of them in the world outside.

DANZBERGER: I saw schools more aware than before that in order to prepare youngsters to do something positive after high school, there had to be a greater relationship with the outside world. Yet, in several schools, cooperative education and vo-

cational programs—in printing, office skills, health careers, for example—were beginning to suffer because of the economy and the unemployment rate. It is becoming more difficult to tell youngsters in their senior year that they will get jobs. Linking school and employment improves retention and performance in school, but some expectations that are being raised in youngsters may be dashed. If that goes on for long, the incentive for the youngsters in school will be lost.

Another thing is that many of the career counseling and other programs are federally funded, as are many of the work-experience programs. But the federal money is going, and the schools have very little understanding of how the states are going to handle block grants.

The resources that were poured in were sizable and are still there to some extent, though diminished. But improvements simply wouldn't have happened without some of those resources. I think that needs to be stated.

DAVILA: There are different emphases on jobs and careers, depending on the community. In one city the schools were quite service-oriented. Besides traditional vocational programs in tool-and die-making, for example, there were also day-care centers preparing both male and female students to take care of the children in the community. The centers were a sort of pre-employment training program. In that city students are asked to go out and do things for the community.

In another city, there is no adopt-a-school program as such, but industries are sending volunteer professionals to particular schools, telling students what job skills are needed, that it is important to dress in a certain way, and to come to work on time because those things are important to be successful in the business world. The schools feel that the business people have much more credibility than a teacher would, and that the kids respond to them. In that city the emphasis is on preparing the students for getting a job, and bringing in the community, in this case business, to help the schools prepare the kids.

FRANZ: In all the business classes I went into, I made a point of asking if they had word processors. In most of the schools, they had one that all of the kids could spend some time learning on. But, by and large, the classes stressed typing or shorthand and dictating machines. I'm not clear why the schools haven't been

able to move on that issue. Partly it's budget constraints; they don't have the money to buy the latest equipment. Another reason is that principals, by and large, don't seem to have a lot of flexibility in what they can do.

On the other hand, it may simply be a lack of knowledge or the awareness of what they need to do to catch up, to get their schools prepared. And that ties in to in-service training of teachers. Most of what I saw in that line was not impressive, but I think in-service training could help teachers catch up, close the gap between the technology the schools have now and what is required outside.

WEINER: Some teachers want the kids who are smart to take Algebra I and Algebra II, Geometry, Calculus, Trig, four years of a foreign language. In other words, they want them to take college-bound courses. But I visited schools in which the smartest kids chose cosmetology, and the teachers and the counselors were enormously frustrated by that. They blamed the parents, most of whom didn't go to high school and think that getting a high school diploma is enough of an educational advance from one generation to the other, that college might make the kids feel they are too good for the parents. In any case, there is often a real conflict between parental values and school values on the question of vocational versus academic programs.

WILSON: There is a relationship between community norms and what the school can teach. A lot depends on what the children see as adult models. If adults have been to college and have good jobs, make a lot of money and live in big houses, and the school teaches the kinds of things students need to know to achieve those things, then the goals of the school and the realities that the child sees come together.

But if, in fact, students see adults going from job to job, having few skills, and with one job pretty much the same as another, they won't have much reason to think that going to college or aiming to become a leader in civic life is that important.

SUMMERFIELD: I heard again and again from the faculty that these kids are from blue-collar families and they won't go to college. They are not expected to go to college. Some of them are gifted and are encouraged to go on but, by and large, most are ex-

pected to get jobs when they graduate, and the schools are helping them do that.

FRANZ: I don't think we have yet discovered a way to give a kid a message that if he or she chooses not to go to college and wants to work for a living, it's okay.

I visited a school that had a wonderful cosmetology program. By the time the kids finished three years of it they were ready to be licensed, and most of them were very happy. In fact, the curriculum for cosmetology is very rigorous. But that kind of information doesn't get out; instead there's an attitude that there's something wrong with kids who go through cosmetology and don't want to go to college. In that sense we are maintaining a dual society, with a set image of who the "good" people are.

CLARK: There was one high school in the South where some of the staff members had higher expectations, and the tension in that school was much greater than in the other schools because there was a split. Those who had expectations for the students were generating expectations in some of the parents. Other staff members had the general attitude of other faculty that I met in that city, which was, let's get them a good education. Let's get them to pass the competency tests. That seemed to be a primary purpose. I don't mean teaching to the test. I didn't feel they were doing that. I felt there was a general concern that there was some minimal level of skills that the children needed in order to survive in the world and that the high school's primary goal was to give the children those skills so that they could survive when they graduated from high school.

On the other hand, in another city in the Northeast, the academic programs were excellent in three of the four schools I visited, and there was much more emphasis on getting the students into better colleges. It was not a question of whether they were going to college, but of getting them into better colleges. Every student I spoke to in that city, regardless of race, no matter what program they were in (and a lot of them were in remedial programs) expected to go to college. That was a far cry from what I saw in the other city.

DANZBERGER: In every city I was in, when they talked about preparing kids for after high school, the main concern was about employment possibilities. But somehow, we've got to broaden

the horizons of these youngsters. Otherwise their expectations will be dashed in the unemployment we can see coming.

FRANZ: I think it's very hard to ask classroom teachers, who are required to do a certain amount of basic instruction, to get into profound philosophical questions about what they're doing. Part of me thinks if you start to do that, you get out of the business pretty fast. A teacher walking every day into a classroom with thirty kids in a large urban high school might say, "There's more than this, but I really don't have the freedom to teach these kids everything I think they need to know to develop completely." So the teachers are in a bind, in terms of what we want them to do and in terms of their being creative.

TEWEL: It's true that more demands are being put on schools and teachers than ever before—for accountability, for performance, and for a lot of other things. The demands are coming from communities, from the larger society, from state education departments, from all over the place.

But when you're up to your ears in alligators, you forget that what you really want to do is drain the swamp. And that's the position school people are in. My concern is that in trying to respond to everyone's demands, they not become operations specialists or mechanics. Some way has to be found to protect the role of our educators as visionaries, as dreamers, as "subversives." It's the job of school people, really, to lead society where it has not been before.

WILSON: It's all very well to say we don't want schools and teachers to be mechanical. But for an educational system to be managed properly the people in it should know what's expected of them and how they are going to be evaluated. Everybody should be clear about those two simple things—what principals have to do and how they're going to be evaluated; what teachers have to do and how they're going to be evaluated. Maybe we overcomplicate things. We get involved in how complex human relationships are, and indeed they are complex, but when people are performing a job in a system, which is essentially what that's all about, there should be some way to say cleanly what the job is, and how it should be done.

MEADE: Yes, people want the security of knowing what is expected of them, but the commitment or the drive or the vision or the dream is what keeps us from oversimplifying on the one hand, and making things too complex on the other. John Gardner once said that the first task of a leader is to offer hope.

LACEY: I certainly learned that there is some hope. I had gotten a little sour on schools myself. But I had my eyes opened. I realized I had mindsets and attitudes that I wasn't aware of, that had sort of seeped in. One of the reasons I found this project so tiring was that I constantly found my assumptions being challenged. I thought I was pretty well in tune with things, but I wasn't, in some very important ways.

DANZBERGER: We do tend to generalize, we do get mindsets, but I think that the message from this program is that some good things are happening. We saw that broadly enough that we can say it probably isn't an aberration. I don't think we can go out and say glory hallelujah, but we can say stop putting the schools down; some good things are happening; now let's see if we can get them happening in other places.

Impressions of 1983

MEADE: Last year, most of your impressions were upbeat. It was only later in the conversation that we got down to the problems. There was agreement that the schools seemed to have a climate of purpose and of order. In some of the schools there was more harmony than anyone had expected to see. And there was a more focused approach in teaching basic skills.

Other conclusions from last year seemed to be:

Schools are, by and large, better managed today than they were ten years ago. There are in place better procedures and people to run urban high schools. Students are more interested in furthering their own education. They're more willing to help themselves and more receptive to what the schools are trying to do for them.

Many of you last year observed a lot of initiative and decision making in particular schools—some informal autonomy in relation to the rest of the system. The schools were self-starting; they did a lot on their own, rather than wait for word from on high. Much was said, too, about the leadership of the principal and the staff, and a good deal was said about how well these schools were doing, considering the pressures of fiscal constraint and the anxiety over funding.

Those were some of the general characteristics that emerged last year. Now, what did you find that surprised you or impressed you about the schools you visited this year?

LACEY: It's not so much that there was a lot new as that there were certain expectations that I took for granted. I expected the schools to be orderly and reasonably clean and the kids to be fairly purposeful. I was surprised if a school was depressing or dismal or had a problem with violence.

On the other hand, I was looking at schools in a different way this year because we were putting more emphasis on academics.

So I moved very quickly from talking about order and discipline to asking about courses, seeing some classes, spending more time with teachers, for example.

NACHTIGAL: I guess the thing that surprised me the most was that in two relatively small cities the range of quality in the schools was just amazing. Part of the reason certainly was related to resources, to school finances, and I'm sure city politics had a lot to do with it. But the discrepancy was really quite remarkable.

Desegregation was an issue in both of the cities, and I think I saw the best and the worst of it. The best schools were those that were truly integrated; they had a nice racial balance—blacks, Chicanos, whites, Indonesians, they were all there.

I think the best schools had gone beyond busing. The truly integrated schools were also neighborhood schools; there was racial balance and home ownership in the neighborhoods, which really did make a difference. The schools that seemed to be working the best had about a thousand students. When they got up to two thousand, there was a real difference in the way they operated.

WENDY PURIEFOY:* This was my first time as a site visitor. In my regular work, I've been deeply immersed in the Boston public schools, so my feelings about public education have been pretty much shaped by my last seven or eight years working in Boston.

I went to another city as a site visitor, and I was impressed by the racial climate in the good schools. I was impressed by white principals in predominantly black schools and the value they placed on their students. They seem to realize what feeling inferior for so long meant to the educational development of black children.

HEIN: I think the thing that impressed me first of all this year was the emphasis on teaching. In some of the schools I visited—and they were in more than one district—the overriding concern was to improve teaching. One of the districts has adopted "six successful steps of teaching"—the sort of thing you learned in your first education course, the objective for the lesson, and so on.

*Wendy Puriefoy is director of the Partnership Center, State Department of Manpower, Boston, Massachusetts.

This sounds a little mundane, but you would be surprised at what it's leading to. There's probably more planning going on, for one thing. For example, teachers turn in their weekly lesson plans to the principal's office by 3:30 on Thursday afternoon. To make this approach work, the district has workshops for the principals who, in turn, go back and hold workshops for their teachers. I don't think I've seen this sort of thing in many, many years.

DANZBERGER: The thing that I noticed this year, generally, was a real sense that if anything is going to change, it will have to come from within the schools themselves. There was little confidence that the fiscal situation, or state or local support, were going to change for the better. Most simply hope that at least support will not drop much more.

Basically, there seemed to be an acceptance that the schools would have to look to themselves. I think that's healthy because people aren't feeling like victims; they seem to have a degree of energy again, to be trying to take hold. But I don't know how long people can continue with the adrenalin flowing at the level required. They know there aren't enough resources, that the age of the staff is getting high in many schools, and there are few resources to do anything about professional development or retraining.

WAGSTAFF: I was amazed at the shift in responsibility for the quality of educational programs from the central office to the school. It seems as if superintendents have decided that if a school is going to have a good program, the people in that school must conceptualize it. If they can do that, then the central office will try to provide the resources to support the program. That seemed to me distinctly different from what I saw last year.

NACHTIGAL: I would like to put in a word for the importance of a good superintendent. I know of one case where a good superintendent really turned a district around in fairly short order. He has made it very clear that quality instruction is important and that responsibility for it lies in the individual school, not, as it used to be, in the central office. What that has done to local principals is very good for those who are willing to take the responsibility. Even some of the "good old boy" types have re-

sponded to that challenge. Many of the principals are taking some very positive steps.

RUDDIE IRIZARRY:* In every school I went to, the main complaint was that they are losing the best students to the magnet schools. But students are not necessarily getting a better education in the magnet schools. Many of the magnets don't offer the breadth of curriculum that students might want or would get in comprehensive high schools. Still, there is a brain drain to the magnet schools.

On the other hand, since the comprehensive schools no longer automatically get students just because they are in their attendance area, the comprehensive schools have to become more competitive. If they want good students, they have to serve them; they have to institute programs for advanced students, advanced placement classes for the college bound, and many other kinds of programs to attract these students back to the general schools. Students have options, and they may opt to go elsewhere.

Another concept that is just beginning to take root is a modified magnet concept; schools can become a magnet in one field or subject, but at the same time be a general academic high school. One may be a horticulture magnet, another a business magnet. With magnets included within academic high schools, all able students would not be concentrated in one school. They would be spread out in all schools, working in focused programs.

So down the line, the magnet-school idea may have good effects for general education, simply by making all the schools more competitive.

LACEY: I must say that I am ambivalent about magnet schools as a solution to the educational problems of high schools. In some ways magnet schools represent the rape of the comprehensive high school. From what I saw, a lot of principals see their own comprehensive high schools mainly as centers for remedial education. The fact is that in some schools, many of the kids are only at the third- or fourth-grade level.

*Ruddie Irizarry is an independent education consultant based in San Francisco, California.

CLARK: I think there is a flip side to the magnet school issue. Some cities have always had select schools where the real cream of the crop go. But the magnet schools are creaming off what was left of the above-average students at the comprehensive high schools. So now comprehensive high schools have students who are average or below average.

DANZBERGER: In the best of all possible worlds, if there were adequate resources, schools might develop programs that would be attractive and right for their students. But I don't see that as the world in which the comprehensive high schools that are left behind are operating, particularly in the cities that I visited. Indeed, in one of them, schools are precluded from developing programs different from what other high schools have. In that city, no comprehensive high schools may have a full vocational program.

The other city I visited only has exploratory vocational programs in the ninth and tenth grades. To complete these beginning courses, youngsters must transfer to whatever school has the program they're interested in. The majority of youngsters do not transfer, though, because after two years in a high school, they're into activities, they've made friends, and so forth. So a lot of kids are being deprived of a variety of programs that might serve their interests.

CLARK: In the large city I visited this year, the physical plants of the buildings, including the newer schools, were in terrible condition. Almost every school I went into needed a new roof, with disastrous consequences for the condition of the classrooms. The schools just didn't seem to have the money for repairs.

Last year I was in two smaller cities, and I found sprawling campuses with colorful cinderblock buildings. The buildings last year were clean and in perfect shape. The big-city schools were such a contrast.

SUMMERFIELD: As for the physical condition of the schools, I have never seen such depressing environments. There's a color of paint in one big city that I don't think exists anywhere else. It's awful—a dark, ugly brown—and the paint itself falls off the walls very quickly.

IRIZARRY: I didn't get the sense of depressing or really bad schools. Even if schools were segregated and the physical plant drab, I didn't think it made that much difference. I went to schools with brand new plants that I didn't like very much, and I went to schools that had very old plants but where there was instructional leadership and concern for the psychological and educational health of both students and teachers. So let's not say that what might be happening in New York, for example, is typical; certainly the situation is not the same everywhere.

WEINER: The physical environment is important, though. You really see that when you go to a school that's a dump. The schools I visited this year in one city were dumps, and the schools I visited in another city were in very good shape. It's something that people in the schools talk about all the time; it cannot be ignored. It isn't a matter of whether or not windows are broken, but how long it takes to get them fixed, because that indicates whether anybody cares about the school and the people in it. If it takes three months to get a broken window fixed, obviously nobody gives a damn.

PURIEFOY: Something I was struck by is the politics of getting a school fixed up or cleaned up, and how many places a school has to tap to get something done. I think it really is a political problem when a school can't get a classroom rewired so that the IBM typewriters and word processors ordered two years ago can be hooked up. The kids in the business department are missing out on learning word processing skills because their principal lacks the political clout to get somebody to hire an electrician to wire that room. I became really disenchanted, and quite angry, as I walked through some of those schools, especially the ones that had new equipment but couldn't get somebody from downtown to hook it up. The kids in those schools deserve to have access to the resources that the school system is supposed to provide for them.

I would like to go on record as saying that there's too much politics in public education. Even if bad-looking schools do a great job, some kids walk past a good-looking school and then have to go into a bad-looking school. There's an inequity there, there's something that is not quite right.

DAVILA: I noticed that last year resources were distributed evenly. It didn't really matter if a school was situated in one urban area or another; kids had the same resources, the same opportunities.

This year, it really depended a lot on chance, on where kids lived. Most of the schools had to fight for what they got. They were very competitive. The resources a school has depends on who's out there fighting for them. If a school's unlucky, and has a principal who just does not want to get involved, the students are not going to get anything. A lot really depends on luck.

DANZBERGER: I would hate to think that's a general thing. Maybe it was the cultural norm for the city you visited. I certainly didn't find it in the two cities I went to.

LACEY: I'd like to reinforce the point about the disparity in resources. I saw that in such dramatic terms it was just stunning. One school I saw had a wonderful climate and a lot of caring, but the most dismal physical situation, in an old elementary school, with plaster falling off the walls. That school just could not get any money out of the central office. The next day, I went to another school that has had a total renovation and seems to have no trouble getting resources. It turned out that the difference was due not only to the principal, but also to an effective local community and the people in it who have political connections. I don't want to use "political" as a pejorative term.

HEIN: One kind of inequity I saw didn't result from politics at all. It stemmed from court-mandated integration. One school, for example, is an absolute palace; it's a mandated magnet school, and it has everything you could think of, some things that universities and colleges don't have.

A few blocks away is a school that I'm sure hasn't had one drop of paint in the last thirty years. That has nothing to do with the principal. It's just that when the court ordered magnet schools, the money had to come from somewhere, and it came from taking it away from some of the other schools. Maybe that's politics on a different level.

JACKSON: Race and desegregation were still dominant themes in almost every school district, especially in the North. A new eu-

phemism, I discovered, is tradition. "If only we could get back to tradition."

Last year, there was a lot of emphasis on the role model of the black principal. That model didn't seem to be as dominant this year. Four of the schools I visited had white male principals, and all the reactions were extremely positive. In one school the white principal had done better than the black principal who was replaced. One of the four schools I visited had a nearly total Spanish-speaking population, and the principal was an Anglo. He had been there since the beginning and, with the community, had built that school. The school did, however, have two Hispanic assistant principals. Anyway, I think we need to take another look at the criteria for a good principal.

IRIZARRY: I would like to comment on the integration situation. That's a very big issue in many of the larger cities. In the one I visited, I didn't see any integration at all. That is, none of the schools I went to had any white children. If there was any integration, it was between blacks and Hispanics. Other than that, all my schools were 100 percent minority. Integration is taking place at the staff level, though, which has brought a lot of problems and many good things.

I saw some very good schools that were totally segregated. I don't buy the notion that only integrated schools are good schools. I think kids learn in healthy educational environments and that color is not the predicter of that environment.

I saw very good schools with all-black administrations. I saw very good schools with all-white administrations. And I saw very good schools with integrated administrations. I saw exemplary classes with attentive, engaged kids being taught by black teachers and by white teachers. Clearly, there are greater issues than color. In fact, I became color-blind. I really did. Color just didn't make any difference in a school that had good leadership, good teaching, and good students.

So, while I think integration is an important issue because of what segregation implies, I don't think integration is the only way. There are some very good schools with all minority students.

SUMMERFIELD: One of the reasons some schools, especially in the big cities, are not integrated is that there are so few white kids

left in the system. In one of the nation's largest cities, for example, overall white enrollment is 17 percent.

DANZBERGER: I would like to lay to rest the idea that one of the current problems of the schools is white flight. It's socioeconomic flight, not white flight. It's the flight of all people from certain socioeconomic groups, with certain educational backgrounds. It doesn't matter what color they are. In many communities the middle class, minority and white, have abandoned the public schools. And these are the people who are articulate, who can deal with the power structures of the school and the communities. To a great extent, everybody who wants certain things from public schools and would demand them has gone. The problem is far beyond being racial.

BROWN: In any case, it's clear that just mixing bodies does not make a desegregated school. In schools where there are both black and white students, there often is not, in fact, desegregation in the sense that we all once thought of it—a means of producing better schools.

Along with the mixing of the bodies there can still be very blatant racism, with black students being ignored and white students being taught. One of the most disturbing things I found, in the schools in one district, was the level of surface racism. Last year the racism was there, but there was an effort to suppress it, at least while I was there. It was handled in a very subtle way. This year the racism was more overt. The surprising thing is that there isn't more outright rebellion from students, parents, and everybody else in the community. I just think that's bad.

DAVILA: At some schools I was told very openly how difficult it was to teach blacks and Hispanics because they are not educationally motivated, because they are so low in capacity and skills. All this was openly expressed. When they asked me where I was from and I said, very casually, "I'm from Puerto Rico," there was silence in the room. That's how I handled it. But the racism is very up front. It's clearly stated: "We all know how difficult it is to deal with 'these' kids." At one school they told me that they had managed, thank God, to avoid tipping. That is, they'd been able "to keep our school over 50

percent white." I asked how they did that, and they said they had established an honors program, which seemed to be solely for the Anglo students. In any case, there was not one black or one Hispanic in it.

The student leaders were all Anglo. When I asked about that, they said, "Oh, we have some blacks and Hispanics, but they live so far away, it's very hard to get them involved. Anyway, you know how these people are. They don't want to get involved in school affairs." There was one group of black girls called the Gifted and Talented. I asked about them and was told that the girls have a fashion show every year. That was the extent of their "involvement." In some of the places I visited racism is alive and well.

FRANK MONTALVO:* I'd like to comment on that. I visited a school in Austin, Texas, in a community with a relatively stable environment, where there was mandatory busing. There were strong efforts on behalf of students who were bused in. There were late buses, for example, to make it easier for them to get involved in activities.

And there had been a lot of preparation for the mandatory busing—workshops in the homes of families whose children would be bused, someone at the school always available to take any parent or any group of parents around the school, to show them what the school was like before their kids arrived there the following semester. There was an extensive planning process, and a lot of the school's subsequent success had to do with that.

SUMMERFIELD: Community involvement was almost nonexistent in the schools I visited, and parent involvement was also minimal. Maybe it is harder to get community and parent involvement in large cities. In the schools I visited last year, all of which were good to outstanding, there was a lot of parent and community involvement. This year there was little, if any. Yet the schools that were good were very good without it. I don't know what that tells us.

HEIN: I think we're going to have to come up with a different definition of community for some areas. In some of the schools I

*Frank Montalvo is director of the Intercultural Institute for Training and Research, Our Lady of the Lake University, San Antonio, Texas.

was in there was no community. Students come from all over, and in some areas there are a lot of transients; students are here today and gone tomorrow. There's no such thing as community anymore. You can't have advisory committees if there's nobody in the area to draw upon. Sometimes both parents are working, so they can't come to the school. Others have younger children they can't leave. Then again, many Asian parents don't want to be asked what the schools ought to be doing because it is not part of their culture to advise those who are considered to be authorities.

At the same time, I visited one school that was painted by the parents because there wasn't any money from outside to do it.

MEADE: Given the observations you've made, have you any thoughts about where the next push for better schools might come from? Or are we at a point where American society is becoming satisfied with better-performing but still mediocre high schools?

HEIN: I think a large segment of the public is perfectly happy with the schools as long as the kids going to them are not hanging around the street corners. If it's a quiet, orderly school, it's a good school as far as they're concerned. They aren't concerned about the quality of learning.

LACEY: I have mixed feelings about that. There seems to be a climate of resignation among some people, a sense that mediocre is the best we can do.

On the other hand, I saw evidence that people will respond to quality education if they see it. Lincoln Park School in Chicago, for example, is so good that people are pulling their kids out of private schools to send them there.

The point I'm trying to make is that when people see that public schools can function well, they will insist that a mediocre school is not enough. But they have to see that with their own eyes.

NACHTIGAL: I saw some real indications that people did know what quality is. When I asked them which programs they were proud of, they pointed out the ones that did have quality.

I don't think it's a matter of not knowing or caring. There was, at least compared to last year, a good deal of emphasis on

establishing classes for the more advanced kids—a recognition that we may pay too much attention to minimum competency and not enough to more advanced or brighter students. The schools want to be able to say that they have advanced placement classes, even though the classes may be very small. In fact, many of the teachers were teaching multiple classes, so they could offer advanced courses to a few kids.

DANZBERGER: Almost every high school I went into believed that it was a "remediation high school," and indeed it was, if you looked at the test scores, the needs of the youngsters, and the kinds of educational experiences they had had. But the schools were trying very hard.

Comprehensive high schools spend two out of four years getting a majority of their students to a point where they can take advantage of exciting, high-quality educational programs.

If a high school's students are reading at grade-school level, what else can it do except organize as a remedial school?

LACEY: In some respects, high school is too late. Over and over again, I saw high schools trying to teach kids who came to high school with second- or third-grade reading levels.

It became obvious that school improvement has to start in junior high and earlier. Yet only rarely did I find high schools with any real connection with their feeder schools. Relations for the most part were perfunctory.

WAGSTAFF: For me, the bright and hopeful thing is that some good principals are emerging in the comprehensive high schools. The schools that impressed me had principals who had gone into tough situations and had begun to turn things around. Now they are pressing for a higher quality of education. They know that without the higher quality more academically oriented students will continue to bypass their schools.

DANZBERGER: A very important segment of society that is dissatisfied with the schools is the business community.

I was told several times in Cleveland, for example, that if the schools don't turn things around, it will be the end of Cleveland's economic viability. By "turning around" they meant that high school graduates had to be prepared for entry into the primary labor market. The focus is on careers and jobs.

The problem is that business has an agenda that may not be appropriate for every child in the school system. The agenda of business is not the release of the human spirit or the transmission of culture. It is this: we must have a labor pool with at least basic skills for entry-level jobs.

So that's where the focus is. Most of the reforms, the new resources that we read about, center around career preparation. Now, that may be a way to get the resources, but I think we have to be careful that the agenda doesn't become very narrow.

DAVILA: I felt students were providing a strong impetus for change in the schools I visited. The students I talked to were much more serious than I remember students being a few years ago. They have a purpose, they are challenging their teachers, and they are demanding more. They want far more than just the minimum.

The more the students ask for, the more the school has to respond. Morris High School is an example. Morris is in one of the worst areas in New York City. The building is in the worst condition I have ever seen any building in. And yet, when you walk into that building, there is such a feeling of energy, there is such trust, there is such expectation. One student was teaching computer "literacy" to teachers in the afternoons. He had gotten the training and he was passing it along. The principal of Morris tells students that the only way to achieve in life is through education; the school was going to give them the opportunity, but they had to take it. With a principal like that, and a like-minded group of teachers and students responding, things will happen. At Morris the opportunity was there, and the students knew it, and they were taking it. Morris High School is what the City High School Recognition Program is all about. It's about hope.

III

Recognition: The high schools and the nation respond

The City High School Recognition Program *was* about hope, and the Recognition Awards were meant to play a special role in furthering it. These smaller awards were intended to reinforce promising efforts already under way in the schools, to spur additional activity, and to create a larger following for change. Never viewed as providing more than symbolic support, they were intended to offer new encouragement to the schools to move ahead.

Shortly after the awards were made, the Ford Foundation asked the recipient schools to comment on the ways the Recognition Awards had affected them. The Foundation was particularly interested in finding out whether the *fact* of recognition had changed public perceptions of the schools. Many schools were still suffering from the bad publicity given, often deservedly, to city high schools in the 1960s and 1970s. No matter how schools had changed since then, much of the public and the media in some communities had stubbornly clung to the notion that their local schools were ineffective and often dangerous. This "pervasive bad rap," as one site visitor put it, was a source of continuing frustration to students, teachers, principals, and parents. Had recognition done anything to counter the negative perception of city high schools? Following are excerpts from a cross section of replies:

> Here at Morris High, a sense of renewal was already under way when we received a Recognition Award. But it needed to be confirmed by respected outsiders in order to have an "electric" impact on those with less faith and hope in the future.
>
> The award has been a source of pride to parents, students, and teachers. For our feeder schools, it has generated interest in

> Morris as a viable institution that really has a future . . . it has helped to brighten people's outlook.
> *Morris High School*
> *Bronx, New York*

A similar note was sounded across the country, in Spokane, Washington:

> The award has been a source of new life and motivation for the entire school. The award came as we were preparing for the school's fiftieth anniversary celebration. Not only was it a shot in the arm for our present student body, but it was also a source of pride for about 6,000 alumni who attended the ceremony. We promoted the award at every opportunity.
> *Rogers High School*
> *Spokane, Washington*

Recognition's special meaning to schools struggling to rebuild their reputation was highlighted by principals in two other cities:

> Most of all, we appreciate the positive "stroking" that says we are what we believe we are. Carver's involvement in an earlier, troubled period of racial conflicts, denials of educational opportunity, and social upheaval left us with the title "the city's worst school." We were overwhelmed by your support in countering this notion.
> *Carver High School*
> *Memphis, Tennessee*

> Oliver's reputation was severely damaged during the late 1960s and early 1970s because of race riots in the school. Our population dropped tremendously during this period. [Since then] staff and students have worked to dispel unfavorable attitudes about our school. The pendulum has already begun to swing in a positive direction. The award capped this movement. It sent a surge of positive reinforcement through the place.
> *Oliver High School*
> *Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania*

From three other schools came word that the Recognition Awards had served to catalyze new activity:

> Your award helped to convey to teachers, students, and parents the notion that our school can be viewed as a place to experience success. We think it will fuel the drive to continue our school-improvement program.
> *Sarah J. Hale High School*
> *New York City*

> The Certificate of Recognition sent a message to all that South Oak Cliff is emerging as a school that is meeting the needs of an urban population. We are known throughout this area for our students' accomplishments on the athletic field. Now we've been recognized for our educational program. This is the highest award we have received. It will, we think, provide the encouragement and impetus to propel us toward higher levels of excellence.
> *South Oak Cliff High School*
> *Dallas, Texas*

> The change in people's impressions has been significant. Many students, parents, and staff who were previously silent or reserved have come forth and gotten involved.
> *Fowler High School*
> *Syracuse, New York*

No theme was touched upon more often than the role of the City High School Recognition Program in attracting a more favorable response to the schools:

> Our school had been perceived as a troubled institution. The Recognition Award and the considerable publicity we received as a result of it changed that perception. Now the local media contact us for opinions on educational issues, and the business community, which shunned the school in the past, regularly calls on us for potential employees. Even the colleges have been in touch regarding the placement of student teachers and with requests for classroom and assembly speakers.

> One of the most significant outcomes of this change in perception is the system's willingness to fund new programs at Central. [Since] receiving the award . . . efforts like the TIMES 2 Program, which seeks to increase minority enrollment in science and math courses leading to a career in engineering, are being funded at Central High.
> *Central High School*
> *Providence, Rhode Island*

> The extensive publicity served notice that our school is a "positive place to be." We are beginning to get requests from parents and students to attend our school, and the principal has been asked to speak to numerous civic and community meetings.
> *George Washington Preparatory High School*
> *Los Angeles, California*

Outside reinforcement was a large factor in gaining greater acceptance in their communities:

> The Recognition Program was the first time in my thirty years as an educator that "nonprivileged" schools were appreciated for what they do for their students. The privileged, or "specialized," schools—those that can draw the best students from other zones—skim off the "cream." They are then presented as schools that are achieving. You have given our nonspecialized school a tremendous uplift, a new school spirit, and a sense of pride.
> *Franklin D. Roosevelt High School*
> *New York City*

> It has been a victory to receive outside recognition in a city where many parents and members of the community feel that comprehensive high schools cannot deliver as sound an educational program as the "citywide schools," which in Baltimore are for students who score high on standardized tests and who have been identified as having above-average ability. Students who do not meet these educational requirements attend a comprehensive high school like Edmondson. They often feel nega-

tively about themselves. The recognition we've received has helped to combat some of these feelings, especially when students read that their school was chosen because *they* are achieving.
Edmondson High School
Baltimore, Maryland

The notion that an inner-city school can compete with schools across the country is itself powerful and important to us.
Jefferson High School
Los Angeles, California

Many schools placed great value on the process of looking at themselves that participation in the program required:

The most important outcome of our participation in the City High School Recognition Program was the opportunity for administrators, parents, teachers, and students to sit down together to review our progress, explore the areas of concern to each group, discuss the direction in which the school should go, and define our goals for the future.

Although the Recognition Award was an honor, which we appreciated, it was not as important to us as the nomination process itself.
Kenwood Academy
Chicago, Illinois

The most important experience here was the intensive research conducted to identify things that have occurred in the school over the past ten years that demonstrate improvement. When the staff, the district, and the students saw the gains the school has made, we were rather shocked—and extremely pleased. This was a motivation to continue.
South High School
Salt Lake City, Utah

It is not often that an urban high school has occasion to remove itself from the demands of the day-to-day operation to think

about the progress of the institution as a whole. We had been too involved in the struggle to pause and reflect.
John Marshall High School
Cleveland, Ohio

We appreciated the opportunity to articulate the purpose and progress of Garinger High School. This focus began with the preparation of the nomination form. It continues to be an important factor in the school's success. By being required to state and evaluate our ideas, we've grasped the effect of our everyday work. As a result, we think instruction here has improved.
Garinger High School
Charlotte, North Carolina

And finally, the schools talked about overcoming a sense of isolation:

The Recognition Program has helped make faculty, students, and the community aware of their importance in the total effort required to make our school successful. And it has helped break down the school's isolation from the world at large.
Valley High School
Albuquerque, New Mexico

All of us at Harper were impressed with the fact that others care about the progress we're making. At times, staff feel that they work in isolation and that what is accomplished goes unnoticed. We appreciated the recognition from outside our walls.
William Rainey Harper High School
Chicago, Illinois

Added to voices from the individual schools were those of persons close to schools whose vantage point afforded them a slightly different perspective. Excerpts from two letters addressed to the Ford Foundation are included here because they serve to pull together the several themes articulated by the schools. Touching on matters of pride and spirit, the value of encouragement, the plight of schools with a poor image, and the danger of schools feeling forsaken and alone, they

speak to a school-improvement process that includes, but also transcends, an initiative like the City High School Recognition Program.

The first excerpt is from a letter from Lionel Meno, superintendent of schools in Syracuse, New York. The second is from Frank Newman, president of the University of Rhode Island, which has been engaged in a joint project with Central High School in Providence. Both letters refer to schools cited in this section.

MR. MENO: When I became superintendent of schools in Syracuse some four years ago, among the priorities quickly identified was the need to rejuvenate Fowler High, which, quite candidly, was at an extremely low level of performance. The school's building was almost brand new, but the morale of students and staff was low, the programming was insufficient, the community viewpoint was negative, and student achievement was below standard.

Immediate corrective action was taken, including new administrative leadership, additional District funding to increase staffing, expanded inservice support, and recruitment of special instructional staff. Despite significant progress in the first two years, the overall perception of community, staff, and students was that the school continued to be less than satisfactory.

The major breakthrough came when the Ford Foundation identified the George W. Fowler High School as having made significant progress in improving its program. The entire community began to look at Fowler in a more realistic and positive light, and, even more importantly, began to join in the task of resolving the remaining problems.

As a result, Fowler High School has had a *banner* year and has received additional recognition, including designation by the State Education Department as having several outstanding programs.

The Ford Foundation's City High School Recognition Program has had a profound impact on our ability to "turn around" an urban school in the city of Syracuse. Please accept my sincere thanks and those of the Board of Education and the community.

MR. NEWMAN: The principal of Central High School, Art Zarrella, and Marcia Feld, the University of Rhode Island's faculty rep-

resentative in the joint project, have tried to convince all the people in the school that they are important actors in an important institution. Little by little, their campaign is having the desired effect. Slowly, Central High is becoming talked about more as a model than as a disaster. The Recognition Award, even though it was only for $1,000, strengthened the budding sprouts of self-confidence, which at the time were still very tender. The subsequent grant of $20,000 had the effect of confirming that something good was going on.

In essence, the Ford Foundation has become a legitimizing agency that has helped make a lot of hard work pay off for the people involved. It should be emphasized that all this progress has a transitory component to it. Without continued hard work, it will tend to fade away. Maybe it is easier to think of the analogy as keeping a garden free of weeds. If left alone for a while, they will grow back. Maybe there is some point at which a high school such as Central (46 percent minority and located at the edge of the worst part of downtown) will become self-sustaining. If that does happen, it certainly will be some years in the future. In the meantime, it is a school with a very different sense of self and a different level of accomplishment than it had even a few years ago.

Recognition—the giving of acknowledgment and approval—was the cornerstone of the Ford Foundation's program of awards to city high schools. But such recognition needed to be known and understood beyond these schools and their communities. It seemed that a good portion of the American public, including many in the media and in government, had "written off" city high schools like the ones in this program. As the *Christian Science Monitor* noted (February 4, 1982), "America's city high schools have been given a reputation somewhere between ignorant anarchy and the Black Hole of Calcutta." And yet, when the first Recognition Awards were announced in May 1982, press, radio, and television responded enthusiastically. Good news, it was found, has a market, too. An editorial in the *Monitor* (May 19, 1982), was entitled "Cheering City Schools." Among other things, it said:

> In the midst of publicized turbulence and inadequacy in urban education [110 schools in 36 cities] were found to exemplify the birth of a new spirit in city high schools all over the country.

The editorial singled out Detroit's Central High, remarking that

> Its improvement in French, mathematics, and natural science has been accompanied by prizes in writing, oratory, marching band, and athletics. There is a feeling of "family." There is a readiness of faculty to work during the summer to help incoming freshmen prepare themselves.

Such praise, such "recognition," was a new experience for most of these schools. Of course, everyone likes good publicity. But, in this case, the comments suggested a willingness by the public to take a fresh look at the schools, to see them whole. As one urban school official put it, "The question is not whether it's a 'rap on the knuckles' or a 'pat on the head;' the important thing is that the 'rap' or the 'pat' be based on knowledge of what is and understanding why." At the very least, recognition represented a start to building that kind of understanding.

IV

Lessons learned and the road ahead

Beyond the happy discovery that many city high schools were doing better and showing improvements over previous years—more so than a lot of people thought or the public record had noted—what else did the program reveal?

Unlike recent national studies of schools, which set out standards for schools, teachers, and students, especially for the future, the Foundation's Recognition Program simply sought to find out if city high schools were doing better today than a few years ago. At the same time, although the program was neither conceived nor conducted as a research activity, it did collect data from 300 high schools in fifty-six American cities. Also, the site visitors collectively spent some 2,500 hours in the schools, sending back reams of information about them. What did we learn about these schools, particularly the 202 that were recognized as improving? Could what we learned from them tell us something about how these improvements came to be? Could their experiences enlighten us about a school's *capacity* to bring itself to change? The latter seemed especially important since, to our way of thinking, knowing more about schools' capacity and what is required to develop it is essential if we expect schools to contend with the recommendations of the national studies and to be prepared to serve students better in the future

Here are some of the things we learned from our two-year journey through public comprehensive high schools in urban America.

First and foremost, it is evident that the recognized schools are increasingly clear about their primary mission—providing a basic substantive high school education to all students. As such matters as social and racial frictions and fiscal retrenchment are resolved, education itself is once again a top priority.

Second, the vision and determination of people—teachers, parents, students, principals—along with the availability of resources, were

uniformly important to the schools' improvement. In many ways, the two were inseparable, but the sequence of people first and then resources seemed essential to initiating and sustaining improvements.

Beyond these overarching factors, what more can be said about the recognized high schools? Briefly, here are some impressions:

- The schools have dealt successfully with many problems that had plagued them earlier—social and racial tensions, retrenchment of staff and reduction of resources, turnover of students and staff, and upheavals within the surrounding community. Today the schools are stable, orderly, harmonious, purposeful educational institutions. Their stability allows for more attention to the primary mission of schools—teaching and learning.
- The schools and those who serve in them accept the fact that they are expected to serve all students equitably. Their acceptance has been influenced by a variety of factors—school desegregation, the presence of increasingly diverse student bodies, and greater public attention to the needs of handicapped, disadvantaged, and non-English-speaking students. Whatever the reasons, these schools accept and try to educate all who come to them.
- The schools enroll large numbers of students who come from less than ideal circumstances. Many of these students want to learn, and they are more motivated, more purposeful, and more capable of self-discipline than similar students in past years.
- The schools are better managed than previously. They have vigorous leadership by principals, teachers, counselors, and other staff, and often have strong parental and community support. Although the principal is not the single factor in a school's progress, he or she is critical to what a school and its staff can do.
- In determining priorities and planning and developing programs for instruction, the schools have learned to make effective use of the resources and funds available to them, and are capable of making equally good use of new resources and funds, especially those for instructional purposes.
- The schools are making better use than before of outside assistance, including adult volunteers, student tutors, and services provided by business, industry, higher education, and community-based social service agencies.

- The schools have initiated many new teaching and learning programs, as well as related activities, which are producing promising results in student achievement in basic skills and academic subjects.

Looking more closely at some of the schools, we saw that other factors seemed to make for deeper and more lasting progress. We noted the following in particular:

- Schools where faculty and other staff cooperated—acting more like a team than as separate departments or services—were better able to cope with problems and to implement school improvements.
- Schools with principals who had ongoing training and development in instructional leadership performed better than those where such training was not available.
- Schools that have been able to sustain systematic and ongoing inservice or staff development programs for teachers demonstrated markedly better efforts in instruction and subsequent achievements in student learning.
- Schools that developed clear, simple standards and rules for students—with student and parent participation—and that applied them consistently and fairly had fewer discipline problems.
- Schools with access to modest discretionary funds for planning and testing school- and classroom-based instructional initiatives were better able to improve their teaching.
- Schools in districts that allowed more flexibility by schools in instructional programs and that supported school-based improvement plans made more progress in instruction.
- Schools that developed solid working relations with such groups as out-of-school volunteers, local business and industry for career training, colleges and universities for assistance to the more academically talented, and social service agencies that help students "at risk" have shown better results in achievement and improvements in the overall climate for learning.

These factors—common to many of the urban high schools we recognized—may be found in other kinds of schools as well. On the other hand, city high schools face some problems that are unique to them because of their locations, the diversity of their students, and the services expected of them. For the most part, these problems are beyond the control of individual schools. Solutions must come largely

from the schools' own communities and local school systems, and from city, state, and federal governments. In brief, these problems are:

- Many schools have rundown physical facilities that are, in some cases, safety and health hazards. The effort needed to overcome such physical deficiencies takes up valuable time and energy that could be better used for teaching and learning. If this sample of schools is any indication, the physical plants of many of the nation's urban schools need substantial rehabilitation and modernization.
- The reduction of funds, including those from federal sources for special instructional activities, and especially those for students who are disadvantaged, handicapped, non-English-speaking, or recent immigrants, is beginning to erode some of the academic gains made when such funds were available. Also, high schools have had even fewer federal and state funds for economically disadvantaged students than have elementary schools.
- In many of the schools, high rates of student turnover and absenteeism disrupt learning and erode the schools' effectiveness.
- The current emphasis on minimum basic skills, with mandated curricula and methods of teaching and testing, has narrowed the scope of education for some students. Often, too, these mandated programs underuse teachers' abilities and, worse, neglect the development of students' abilities to think, analyze, and inquire. In some schools, the basic skills "floor" has become the "ceiling" of achievement.
- Insufficient funds and time to support ongoing teacher development or inservice training erode the instructional strengths of even the best teachers. Whether such development consists of acquiring new knowledge about a particular field, or testing new instructional techniques and materials, or learning how to evaluate one's own teaching, systematic on-the-job staff development is a necessary ingredient for quality schools.
- General or comprehensive urban high schools are expected to meet a wide variety of student needs, many well beyond the academic. At the same time, school resources are shrinking, obliging them to do more with less. In many cases, students have more problems than a school can handle. Either the

schools should be relieved of some of these problems or given the support necessary to handle them effectively.

To sum up, it may be said that we accomplished what we hoped to accomplish in this effort, namely, to find, to document, and to recognize the overall progress made in recent years by a representative group of city high schools that were generally thought to be failing. Clearly, the results of our two-year journey through many cities of this land show that a goodly number of "everyday and for everyone" urban high schools have come some distance from the recent past. To be sure, some of the improvements are far from complete. To be sure, the schools still have a long road to travel before they become what they themselves and society want them to be with respect to academic excellence and equality of opportunity.

That road is full of challenges—new and old. But, as this program found, city high schools and those responsible for them have met challenges before. They can do so again. In any case, there is no turning back—not back to schools for some instead of for all, not back to schools of disorder and confusion, not back to schools without hope. The road ahead is clear—to schools for all; to schools of purpose, order, and harmony; to schools justly proud of their graduates; to schools vibrant with the hope and promise of youth.

The Ford Foundation City High School Recognition Program found that many schools have already set out on that road. Now, that's hopeful!

Acknowledgments

The Ford Foundation City High School Recognition Program owes a debt of thanks to many men and women throughout the country. Each one of them added to the richness of this two-year adventure in urban schools.

Foremost were those in the participating city high schools—teachers, students, parents, and principals—who so willingly gathered the information we sought about the schools and so graciously received our site visitors.

Our thanks go to the site visitors themselves (see Appendix D) who were drawn from various parts of the country and who fulfilled their appointed rounds despite bad weather, transportation snafus, scheduling conflicts, and colds and flu along the way. Because of the site visitors' insight, sensitivity, and compassion, we came to "see" a great many schools more clearly and to understand the distance they have come and the road still before them.

In both years of the program, a panel of men and women with wide experience in public school education reviewed the information gathered from the schools and the site visits and made recommendations to the Foundation about awards and grants. The panelists (see Appendix E) fulfilled their assignments with objectivity and good judgment. They have our gratitude.

No program, and certainly no national program working in so many cities and schools within the constraints of tight schedules, could succeed without a strong coordinating staff and advisors. The City High School Recognition Program was especially fortunate in that regard. Nancy Dennis, now on the executive staff of the New York City Opera Company, was the program coordinator in its first year. The procedures she developed made the program work smoothly, responsively, and responsibly. Sharon Franz of the Academy for Educational Development in New York, who managed the program's second year, carried on in similar fashion. During the two-year span of the pro-

gram, Bryan Owen Hull, a professional actor by night and administrative assistant by day, provided tireless backup to the coordinators. Special appreciation, also, to Hildegard Schubert, my secretary, and to other staff members at the Ford Foundation and the Academy for Educational Development for handling volumes of correspondence and mailings, and processing the many awards and grants.

Advisors to the program carried out a variety of tasks—devising information and assessment forms, gathering background data, ironing out schedules, briefing site visitors and panelists, and testing program procedures. Their efforts and assistance were invaluable in making the program more effective as it proceeded. In 1982 and 1983, we had this kind of help from Terry Clark, educational researcher, and Kenneth Tewel, high school principal, both from the New York City Public Schools, and from Richard Lacey, an independent educational consultant. In 1983, they were joined by Rexford Moon of the Academy for Educational Development, and Edna St. Paul, a high school principal from Jersey City. We thank each one of them for a job well done.

A special debt of thanks is due to those who helped prepare this report. They are Peter L. Buttenwieser, a Philadelphia-based educational consultant who wrote the introductory chapter about the program and its evolution; Barbara Loomis Jackson, a professor at Morgan State University who consolidated and analyzed statistical data about the schools that received recognition awards; the support staff of the Academy for Educational Development, for compiling data lists and tables; Oona Sullivan, a Ford Foundation writer/editor, whose editorial skills gave added life and clarity to this report; Dolores Dunbar, a word-processing operator in the Foundation's Office of Reports who, patiently and efficiently, guided the manuscript through its various stages; M. J. Gladstone and his colleagues at the Publishing Center for Cultural Resources in New York, for their artful design and production of this document and for their earlier design and printing of the forms and certificates used in the program.

The Ford Foundation City High School Recognition Program was blessed throughout by having so much help and cooperation from so many. Our thanks to all.

Edward J. Meade, Jr.

APPENDIX A

Cities in which recognition awards were made

APPENDIX B

Recipients of $1,000 recognition awards
1982 and 1983

ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO (4)
- Albuquerque High School
- Rio Grande High School
- Valley High School
- West Mesa High School

ATLANTA, GEORGIA (5)
- George Washington Carver High School
- Frederick Douglass High School
- Fulton High School
- Henry Grady High School
- Charles L. Harper High School

AUSTIN, TEXAS (4)
- Anderson High School
- Lyndon Baines Johnson High School
- Albert Sidney Johnston High School
- William B. Travis High School

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND (6)
- Edmondson High School
- Northern High School
- Northwestern Senior High School
- Southern High School
- Southwestern Senior High School
- Walbrook Senior High School

CITY HIGH SCHOOLS

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA (7)
- Ensley High School
- Glenn High School
- Carol W. Hayes High School
- Parker High School
- John Herbert Phillips High School
- Wenonah High School
- Woodlawn High School

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS (1)
- South Boston High School

BUFFALO, NEW YORK (2)
- Grover Cleveland High School
- Lafayette High School

CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA (2)
- Garinger High School
- Harry P. Harding Senior High School

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS (19)
- Austin High School
- Calumet High School
- Roberto Clemente High School
- Jean Baptiste Point Dusable High School
- Christian Fenger High School
- William Rainey Harper High School
- Hirsch Metropolitan School of Communications
- Hyde Park Career Academy
- Benito Juarez High School
- Percy L. Julian High School
- Kelvyn Park High School
- Kenwood Academy
- Dr. Martin Luther King High School
- Lincoln Park High School
- John Marshall Metro High School
- Morgan Park High School
- Rezin Orr High School
- Paul Robeson High School
- Senn High School

CINCINNATI, OHIO (2)
- Robert A. Taft High School
- Withrow High School

CLEVELAND, OHIO (3)
- Collinwood High School
- John F. Kennedy High School
- John Marshall High School

COLUMBUS, OHIO (5)
- Briggs High School
- East High School
- Linden-McKinley High School
- Marion-Franklin High School
- Whetstone High School

DALLAS, TEXAS (5)
- Business and Management Center High School
- Lincoln Humanities/Communications Magnet High School
- James Madison High School
- A. Maceo Smith High School
- South Oak Cliff High School

DES MOINES, IOWA (2)
- Des Moines Technical High School
- North High School

DETROIT, MICHIGAN (5)
- Central High School
- Murray-Wright High School
- Northern High School
- Southwestern High School
- Western High School

EL PASO, TEXAS (3)
- Austin High School
- Bowie High School
- Riverside High School

FORT WORTH, TEXAS (3)
- Diamond Hill-Jarvis High School
- Paul Laurence Dunbar Senior High School
- North Side High School

FRESNO, CALIFORNIA (2)
- Edison High School
- Roosevelt High School

HOUSTON, TEXAS (2)
- Jefferson Davis Senior High School
- Booker T. Washington Senior High School

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA (4)
- Arsenal Technical High School
- Broad Ripple High School
- Thomas Carr Howe High School
- George Washington High School

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI (4)
- Jim Hill High School
- Lanier High School
- William B. Murrah High School
- Provine High School

JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA (3)
- Englewood Senior High School
- William M. Raines Senior High School
- Ribault Senior High School

JERSEY CITY, NEW JERSEY (1)
Lincoln High School

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI (1)
East High School

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE (1)
Rule High School

LAS VEGAS, NEVADA (1)
Sunset High School

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA (7)
Dorsey High School
Thomas Jefferson High School
David Starr Jordan High School
Abraham Lincoln High School
Alain LeRoy Locke High School
Manual Arts High School
George Washington Preparatory High School

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE (5)
Carver High School
Hamilton Senior High School
Melrose Comprehensive High School
Mitchell High School
Booker T. Washington High School

MIAMI, FLORIDA (1)
Miami Edison Senior High School

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN (4)
- Solomon Juneau Developmental City-Wide High School
- North Division High School
- Riverside High School
- South Division High School

MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA (1)
- South High School

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA (5)
- George Washington Carver Senior High School
- Joseph S. Clark Senior High School
- Alcee Fortier Senior High School
- L. B. Landry Senior High School
- Booker T. Washington Senior High School

NEW YORK, NEW YORK (18)
- Louis D. Brandeis High School
- William Cullen Bryant High School
- Curtis High School
- Far Rockaway High School
- Sarah J. Hale High School
- Andrew Jackson High School
- John F. Kennedy High School
- Martin Luther King, Jr., High School
- Franklin K. Lane High School
- Abraham Lincoln High School
- Morris High School
- New Utrecht High School
- Julia Richman High School
- Franklin D. Roosevelt High School
- Adlai E. Stevenson High School
- William Howard Taft High School
- Walton High School
- George Washington High School

NEWARK, NEW JERSEY (1)
- Malcolm X. Shabazz High School

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA (4)
- Granby High School
- Lake Taylor High School
- Maury High School
- Northview High School

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA (3)
- Castlemont High School
- Fremont High School
- McClymonds High School

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA (1)
- John Marshall High School

OMAHA, NEBRASKA (3)
- Benson High School
- North High School
- Technical High School

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA (6)
- John Bartram High School
- Thomas A. Edison High School
- Germantown High School
- Simon Gratz High School
- Martin Luther King High School
- West Philadelphia High School

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA (5)
- Taylor Allerdice High School
- John A. Brashear High School
- Langley High School
- Oliver High School
- South High School

PORTLAND, OREGON (1)
- Jefferson High School

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND (1)
Central High School

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH (1)
South High School

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI (2)
Beaumont High School
Vashon High School

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS (8)
Luther Burbank High School
Thomas Edison High School
Louis W. Fox Academy and Technical High School
Highlands High School
Sam Houston High School
Thomas Jefferson High School
Sidney Lanier High School
Phyllis Wheatley High School

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA (3)
Galileo High School
Mission High School
Woodrow Wilson High School

SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA (4)
Andrew P. Hill High School
Abraham Lincoln High School
William C. Overfelt High School
Silver Creek High School

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON (1)
Chief Sealth High School

SPOKANE, WASHINGTON (1)
John R. Rogers High School

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK (3)
Thomas J. Corcoran Senior High School
George W. Fowler High School
William Nottingham High School

TAMPA, FLORIDA (2)
Hillsborough High School
Thomas Jefferson High School

TOLEDO, OHIO (4)
Edward D. Libbey High School
Jessup W. Scott High School
Morrison R. Waite High School
Calvin M. Woodward High School

TUCSON, ARIZONA (2)
Pueblo High School
Tucson High School

TULSA, OKLAHOMA (1)
Raymond S. McLain High School

WASHINGTON, D.C. (4)
Frank W. Ballou High School
Paul Laurence Dunbar Senior High School
Spingarn High School
Howard Dilworth Woodson Senior High School

WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS (3)
Burncoat Senior High School
North High School
South High Community School

APPENDIX C

Recipients of $20,000 project grants
1982 and 1983

ALBUQUERQUE, NEW MEXICO (1)

Rio Grande High School for a tutorial program in reading, language arts, mathematics, science, and study and test-taking skills for all students and their parents at Rio Grande and two nearby middle schools.

ATLANTA, GEORGIA (2)

George Washington Carver High School to expand its successful "Star Student" school-attendance project and to improve student achievement in tenth-grade reading and mathematics.

Fulton High School for a variety of projects to improve curriculum, parental involvement, and attendance, including Saturday morning workshops, counseling of parents of troubled students, and awards for improved attendance.

BALTIMORE, MARYLAND (3)

Edmondson High School to upgrade the curriculum in mathematics, foreign languages, and biology, and to improve student performance on aptitude tests.

Northern High School for a peer counseling and tutoring program for students from Northern and its feeder schools.

Walbrook Senior High School for a computer-based attendance system, remedial and advanced instruction in mathematics and language arts, and Saturday review classes in aptitude testing taught by volunteer medical students.

BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA (4)

Glenn High School for a project to enlist parents in helping underperforming students to improve their study skills.

Carol W. Hayes High School to expand a basic-skills project to raise student achievement in language arts and mathematics. Students in the seventh and eighth grades of Hayes' feeder schools will be included in the program. The grant will also be used to purchase videotape equipment to aid in teacher retraining.

Parker High School for a computer-assisted instructional program in which students are tutored in basic skills and are taught computer language.

John Herbert Phillips High School to establish an interdepartmental computer learning center.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS (1)

South Boston High School to expand its reading-enrichment program to include feeder schools. The program includes a reading-writing workshop and training of teachers to integrate the arts into the curriculum. The project will track student progress by means of a computer.

CHARLOTTE, NORTH CAROLINA (1)

Harry P. Harding Senior High School for Project SHARE, in which students are trained in leadership skills, community employers are enlisted in school activities, and potential dropouts are provided with peer, parental, and staff support.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS (10)

Roberto Clemente High School to extend its phonics program to Hispanic students in feeder schools to prepare them to participate in regular rather than remedial courses when they reach high school.

Christian Fenger High School to provide training in computer literacy for Fenger faculty and upper-grade teachers in five feeder elementary schools, enabling them to provide computer-assisted remedial instruction in English, mathematics, social studies, and science for grades seven through twelve.

William Rainey Harper High School to further develop a "cluster" plan in which students remain with the same group throughout the day. It has resulted in improved student discipline and achievement.

Hyde Park Career Academy to create a comprehensive career-orientation program and to share its curriculum and instructional methods with teachers in four elementary feeder schools.

Lincoln Park High School to enlarge its peer-tutoring program to help students at a nearby elementary school prepare for high school mathematics courses. All students will learn BASIC computer language.

John Marshall Metro High School to develop a structured program designed to improve clear thinking and other cognitive skills. The program will focus on motivated but low-performing sophomores and learning-disabled students.

Morgan Park High School to provide after-school library and tutoring services to its own and other high school students, as well as seventh- and eighth-grade students from feeder schools. Morgan will also sponsor an exchange program with teachers in feeder schools.

Rezin Orr High School to expand its staff development program, which enlists special education teachers to train other teachers throughout the school to teach basic reading skills in all subjects. Rezin Orr will disseminate the program among ten other high schools through inservice training sessions and workshops.

Paul Robeson High School to establish an instructional team that will focus on critical thinking and mathematics and science instruction. Mathematics and service programs will be coordinated with teachers from nearby Parker Community Academy.

Senn High School to provide recent immigrant students with extra class time in English-language skills and social orientation to American society. Inservice training for teachers of English-as-a-second-language in area schools will also be offered.

CINCINNATI, OHIO (2)

Robert A. Taft High School to undertake inservice training for teachers in mathematics, English, foreign languages, and science at Taft and at two feeder schools. They will focus on computer-assisted instruction, classroom management, and instruction of reading skills in various subjects.

Withrow High School to introduce writing projects in history, English, social studies, and other classes, drawing upon the city's cultural resources for topics and also upon the experience of foreign students in the school's International Studies Academy.

CLEVELAND, OHIO (2)

Collinwood High School to address its dropout problem by enlisting faculty, parents, and students to improve attendance by at least 6 percent, to establish administrative/disciplinary practices that are helpful rather than punitive, and to stimulate greater student motivation to succeed in school.

John Marshall High School to create computer literacy courses for John Marshall teachers and parents, and for faculty and staff from local junior high schools.

COLUMBUS, OHIO (1)

Linden-McKinley High School for revision of the ninth-grade curriculum.

DALLAS, TEXAS (1)

South Oak Cliff High School to establish a staff development program consisting of seminars, workshops, and training sessions to enable teachers to share successful instructional methods. Funds will also support a tutorial laboratory equipped with ten computers purchased with federal funds allocated to the school.

DES MOINES, IOWA (1)

Des Moines Technical High School to enable it to become a central resource for other comprehensive high schools and to improve staff skills in teaching vocational-technical subjects.

DETROIT, MICHIGAN (5)

Central High School to improve achievement in mathematics and science, introduce courses in computer literacy, and strengthen extracurricular activities that reinforce verbal skills.

Murray-Wright High School for a project to help ninth-grade teachers improve their classroom management skills.

Northern High School to extend the school's "Be Proud Aloud" program to its feeder elementary schools. The program is aimed at strengthening the students' self-image and motivation to learn.

Southwestern High School for a project to improve attendance and reduce short-term suspensions among ninth-graders because of truancy.

Western High School to improve attendance, student self-discipline, and academic achievement. A bilingual paraprofessional will be employed half-time to encourage parental participation in school programs.

EL PASO, TEXAS (2)

Austin High School to provide programs in computer literacy, including basic principles of word processing, for Austin students, teachers, and administrators, and also for faculty and staff of nearby Barrett Junior High School.

Bowie High School to integrate foreign-born students into the student-body mainstream, develop special science classes for recent immigrants, and train faculty in skills needed to teach science, mathematics, and social sciences to foreign- and native-born Spanish-speaking students.

FORT WORTH, TEXAS (1)

Diamond Hill-Jarvis High School to offer a variety of after-school classes and tutoring in English, mathematics, and reading. A committee of parents, students, and faculty will study long-range issues affecting Diamond Hill-Jarvis and its feeder schools.

HOUSTON, TEXAS (1)

Booker T. Washington Senior High School to develop a competency-based instructional program in which students will be helped to upgrade their skills in English and reading, science, social studies, and mathematics. A testing system will be devised with the aid of university graduate students that will focus on students' developmental needs.

INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA (2)

Arsenal Technical High School to collaborate with teachers in a nearby feeder school in tutoring students in English, mathematics, French, Spanish, social studies, and science.

George Washington High School to expand a school-improvement program that includes training of student leaders, dissemination of career information, and training of staff to teach reading and communications skills.

JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI (1)

William B. Murrah High School to improve student performance on scholastic aptitude tests, create a tutorial program in reading and mathematics, and strengthen school discipline.

JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA (3)

Englewood Senior High School to expand its model reading laboratory, now open to students and adults fifteen hours a week, to fifty-five hours a week. The program improves skills in writing, social studies, mathematics, computer literacy, and foreign languages, as well as reading.

William M. Raines Senior High School to expand its program to improve reading skills in classes in all subjects, and to provide teacher training in computer literacy. The project will involve 1,500 Raines students and twenty ninth-grade students from a nearby junior high school.

Ribault Senior High School to conduct a yearlong academic and cultural enrichment program on weekends, available to students from both Ribault and eight feeder schools. Offerings will include seminars in public speaking; courses in black history; tutoring in reading, writing, and mathematics; practice in taking standardized tests; and trips to museums, libraries, and concerts.

JERSEY CITY, NEW JERSEY (1)

Lincoln High School for a program to improve basic skills, increase student awareness of college and career options, recognize academic achievement, and enrich cultural experiences.

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI (1)

East High School to establish a School Climate Improvement Committee made up of teachers, students, and parents. Its primary purpose is to foster better racial relations and to promote the participation of white students in after-school activities. Efforts will also be made to break down ethnic bias by promoting multicultural activities and by teaching students about their own and others' cultural backgrounds. A multi-ethnic parent advisory group will monitor the project.

KNOXVILLE, TENNESSEE (1)

Rule High School for a peer-tutoring program for low-achieving ninth-graders, instruction in computer literacy, and awarding of "mini grants" to college-bound students. A senior from each of the next four graduating classes will be selected, on the basis of academic performance and contributions to school and community life, to receive a $500 grant.

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA (3)

David Starr Jordan High School to improve coordination with feeder schools, advertise courses and activities of interest to younger students, and expand laboratories and clinics in mathematics, reading, and writing.

Abraham Lincoln High School to expand a student peer counseling program to serve incoming junior high school students needing special attention, develop a language laboratory for students with limited English-language skills, and introduce a course for incoming ninth-graders in study skills, test taking, and management of time.

George Washington Preparatory High School to expand peer counseling and tutoring programs, establish a teacher counseling system to motivate students to select challenging courses, and strengthen parents' efforts to improve student attendance.

MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE (1)

Carver High School for a program to improve student study habits, using volunteer tutors from the community.

MIAMI, FLORIDA (1)

Miami Edison Senior High School to provide special assistance to its many Haitian and Hispanic immigrant students to enable them to pass state competency examinations.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN (2)

Solomon Juneau Developmental City-Wide High School to expand a diagnostic testing program to identify students' academic deficiencies and to devise alternative teaching approaches for students who fail to reach minimum competency. The emphasis will be on tailoring instruction to students' needs to ensure that they achieve at least minimum competency levels before being passed to the next grade.

South Division High School for a program to improve academic achievement and motivation, using such techniques as a logo, motto, posters, guest speakers, and individual and group counseling.

NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA (2)

Joseph S. Clark Senior High School for "Operation Outreach," a program aimed at improving student achievement, establishing links with feeder schools, and strengthening ties with the business community and civic organizations.

George Washington Carver Senior High School for a program to increase enrollment in the school's Marine Corps Junior ROTC, assess student progress in language arts and mathematics, and improve attendance.

NEW YORK, NEW YORK (11)

Louis D. Brandeis High School to develop magnet programs in finance, business, mathematics, and computers, and to expand its advanced placement programs to include biology.

William Cullen Bryant High School to organize several efforts to increase the number of students pursuing higher education. These will include a multilingual college handbook, college workshops after school and on Saturdays, guest speakers, and trips to colleges and universities outside the city.

Far Rockaway High School to emphasize staff development to improve teaching of reading and writing skills within the overall curriculum.

Sarah J. Hale High School to strengthen efforts to encourage students to remain in school through, for example, supportive guidance services, improving basic skills training, and career programs.

John F. Kennedy High School to create a science research center and a training center to demonstrate reading improvement

through art, which will also serve staff and students of other high schools, feeder schools, and teacher-training institutions.

Franklin K. Lane High School to establish a student-run computer-literacy center for Lane students during school hours and for other students after school. Lane students will be trained to begin teaching computer classes in nearby junior high schools.

Abraham Lincoln High School to develop a program combining counseling, home visits, tutoring, and special projects to help tenth-grade students make the transition from junior high school.

Morris High School to create a special course for freshmen, introducing them to various possible careers—for example, in business, computers, and health services—and explaining the academic requirements for such careers.

Franklin D. Roosevelt High School to create a Community Health Awareness Program for Roosevelt ninth- and tenth-graders and eighth- and ninth-graders from three feeder schools. Student teams will conduct research on five major community health problems, create filmstrips and booklets, and present their projects to students and parents.

Adlai E. Stevenson High School to extend its career awareness program to its feeder intermediate and junior high schools. Staff will improve their skills in counseling.

George Washington High School to expand ninth-grade mathematics and science programs and develop a computer learning center to reinforce basic academic skills. Seventy percent of the students at George Washington are recent immigrants from the Dominican Republic.

NORFOLK, VIRGINIA (3)

Granby High School to strengthen basic learning skills so that at least 90 percent of tenth-graders pass the Virginia Competency Test.

Lake Taylor High School to establish a tutorial program and computer-based remedial instruction in language arts.

Maury High School to conduct leadership training for students in all five Norfolk high schools, in collaboration with Old Dominion University. The training will help broaden student representation in school governance, increase communication among students, and provide a means for students to express their views on school matters.

OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA (2)

Castlemont High School for a program to increase staff and parental involvement in school affairs, strengthen student motivation, and improve administrative leadership.

Fremont High School for a journalism-graphics program based on the school's award-winning school newspaper. The newspaper will be used as a vehicle for strengthening student writing and graphics-arts skills and for bringing the school and community closer together.

OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLAHOMA (1)

John Marshall High School to expand peer tutoring, currently offered in nearby middle and elementary schools, to help underperforming students at John Marshall. Other projects include in-service training for teachers who will work in teams with a master teacher and a program to prepare students for advanced placement courses.

OMAHA, NEBRASKA (2)

Benson High School for a program aimed at enriching the humanities curriculum as a means of attracting more white students to the school.

Technical High School for a program to sustain the school's diverse academic and vocational course offerings and racial balance by attracting students citywide.

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA (4)

John Bartram High School to train teachers at Bartram and three feeder schools to develop new teaching and evaluation techniques aimed at improving students' academic performance.

Simon Gratz High School to develop a comprehensive career-education program, including individual counseling, for Gratz and for its four feeder junior high schools.

Martin Luther King High School to expand its computer-literacy training to benefit three neighboring schools and adult students in King's evening school.

West Philadelphia High School to develop a program combining teacher training, comprehensive career counseling, and tutoring to assist motivated but low-achieving junior high school students.

PITTSBURGH, PENNSYLVANIA (1)

South High School for a ninth-grade vocational-technical program and creation of a computer center to improve student achievement in mathematics.

PORTLAND, OREGON (1)

Jefferson High School to initiate a program to provide computer literacy to all graduates by 1986. All school staff, as well as representatives from the community, will be instructed in the history of computers, issues of privacy and ethnics, elementary programming, and computer-related career opportunities. Computer-based instruction will be offered in mathematics, reading, writing, languages, and business education.

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND (1)

Central High School to hire a staff person to organize a volunteer corps of parents and community representatives and to act as advocate for parents in dealings with adminstrators and teachers. He or she will conduct student-parent seminars to help students make decisions about postsecondary training or career options.

ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI (2)

Beaumont High School to establish a schoolwide, interdisciplinary reading program that will include eighth-grade teachers at two feeder schools. Parents will be offered workshops and a handbook to help them improve their children's study habits.

Vashon High School to reinforce skills in reading and writing through a cross-age teaching program. Teachers will be trained in techniques of teaching writing, and Vashon students will tutor fifth-grade students in three feeder schools.

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS (3)

Luther Burbank High School for an extended-day program in which master teachers will offer individualized instruction in language arts and mathematics.

Sidney Lanier High School for home visits, counseling, hiring of parent aides, and other techniques to improve student attendance.

Phyllis Wheatley High School for leadership training of exemplary as well as problem students in overnight workshops at a ranch. The workshops are aimed at motivating students to become active in school affairs and at promoting leadership and academic and human-relations skills.

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON (1)

Chief Sealth High School for activities to improve educational achievement and increase community involvement in the school, including study-skills courses, bilingual classes, and a volunteer adult tutoring program.

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA (1)

Woodrow Wilson High School to train a group of students in the basics of computer operations, programming, and word processing. They in turn will train groups of teachers, other students, teachers from feeder schools, and parents and others in the community.

SAN JOSE, CALIFORNIA (4)

Andrew P. Hill High School to begin a four-year project to expand its Gifted and Talented Education Program, improve school safety, encourage integration among diverse ethnic groups, and strengthen efforts to coordinate its academic-skills programs with those in feeder schools.

Abraham Lincoln High School to develop a comprehensive computer-science program linked with feeder schools. It will provide computer-literacy training and computer-assisted basic-skills instruction for all students in grades seven through twelve.

William C. Overfelt High School to develop a comprehensive program of teacher training and academic counseling to increase the number of minority and female graduates entering colleges and universities.

Silver Creek High School to start a three-year comprehensive plan for further school improvement, including collaboration with feeder schools, organizing volunteers from the community to help students in reading, English, and mathematics, as well as intensive training in basic-skills instruction for teachers.

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK (1)

George W. Fowler High School for a program to develop the aesthetic component of the curriculum, expand student extracurricular activities, and promote the school's achievement in the community.

TAMPA, FLORIDA (1)

Thomas Jefferson High School for development of a computer laboratory to improve instruction in mathematics, communications, English-as-a-second-language, and computer literacy.

TOLEDO, OHIO (1)

Edward D. Libbey High School to create a resource center to enable teachers from Libbey and a nearby junior high school to provide special assistance to improve students' writing and communications skills.

TUCSON, ARIZONA (1)

Pueblo High School for staff development and creation of a student learning center for instruction in basic skills, time management, problem solving, and career planning.

WASHINGTON, D.C. (2)

Paul Laurence Dunbar Senior High School for a computer system to assist staff in monitoring attendance, maintaining student records, and providing instruction.

Spingarn High School to provide individualized instruction in reading and mathematics for selected students in grades ten through twelve.

WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS (1)

Burncoat Senior High School to increase student and community awareness of the city's diverse ethnic makeup. Projects will include evening community forums, art displays, field trips, oral histories, folk dancing, and preparation of ethnic food.

APPENDIX D

Site visitors
1982 and 1983

Robert Brown
Director, Southeastern Public
Education Program
Macon, Georgia

Peter L. Buttenwieser
Peter L. Buttenwieser & Associates
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Terry Clark
Assistant Director for Research and Evaluation
Office of Educational Evaluation
New York City Public Schools
formerly:
Director, Metropolitan Educational Development and Research Project
Office of Educational Evaluation
New York City Public Schools

Jacqueline Danzberger
Institute for Educational Leadership
Washington, D.C.
formerly:
Executive Director, Youthwork, Inc.
Washington, D.C.

Evelyn M. Davila
Project Director, Urban University Study
The College Board
Washington, D.C.

Sharon Franz
Director, School Services Division
Academy for Educational Development
New York, New York
formerly:
Director, City High School Recognition Program

Margaret Gill Hein
Independent Consultant
Arkadelphia, Arkansas

Ruddie Irizarry
Independent Consultant
San Francisco, California
formerly:
Evaluation Manager, Office of Educational Evaluation
New York City Public Schools

Barbara Loomis Jackson
Director, Doctoral Studies
Program
School of Education and Urban Studies
Morgan State University
Baltimore, Maryland

Richard Lacey
Independent Consultant
New York, New York

Frank Montalvo
Director, Intercultural Institute
for Training and Research
Our Lady of the Lake University
San Antonio, Texas

Paul Nachtigal
Senior Associate, Rural Education
Project
Mid-Continent Regional Educational
Laboratory
Wheat Ridge, Colorado

Vito Perrone
Dean, Center for Teaching and
Learning
University of North Dakota
Grand Forks, North Dakota

Wendy Puriefoy
Director of the Partnership Center
Office of Economic Affairs
Department of Manpower Development
Boston, Massachusettts
formerly:
Assistant Director, Permanent Charity Fund of Boston

Ellen Summerfield
Coordinator, International
Multicultural Education
Chicago Public Schools
Chicago, Illinois

formerly:
Director, Adminstrative Fellowship
Program and Adminstrator
Center for Urban Education
Chicago, Illinois

Martha Torres-Lopez
Independent Consultant
Brooklyn, New York
formerly:
Coordinator for Program Planning, New York Urban Coalition
New York, New York

Cecilia Traugh
Associate Dean, Center for
Teaching and Learning
University of North Dakota
Grand Forks, North Dakota

Lonnie Wagstaff
Associate Superintendent for Instruction, Fort Worth Independent
School District
Forth Worth, Texas
formerly:
Chairperson, Faculty of Educational
Administration
Ohio State University
Columbus, Ohio

Debra Susan Weiner
Education Consultant
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Blenda Wilson
Executive Director, Commission on
Higher Education, State of
Colorado
Denver, Colorado
formerly:
Senior Associate Dean, Harvard Graduate School of
Education
Cambridge, Massachusetts

APPENDIX E

Selection panels
1982 and 1983
(Affiliations as of the time of service on the panels)

1982

Mario Jaime Aranda,
Member, Board of Directors
National Committee for
Citizens in Education
Latino Institute
Chicago, Illinois

Richard D. Bagin,
Director of Program
Communications
Council of Chief State School
Officers
Washington, D.C.

James Joseph Baumann,
High School Teacher
Franklin K. Lane High School
Brooklyn, New York

Phyllis Blaunstein,
Executive Director
National Association of State
Boards of Education
Washington, D.C.

Mary E. Busch,
Chair of Urban Boards of
Education
National School Boards
Association
Indianapolis, Indiana

Gordon Cawelti,
Executive Director
Association for Supervision and
Curriculum Development
Alexandria, Virginia

Carol Gibson,
Director of Education
National Urban League
New York, New York

Dennis Gray,
Deputy Director Council for
Basic Education
Washington, D.C.

Charles J. Harrison,
Executive Director
Education Writers Association
Woodstown, New Jersey

Adrienne K. Jackson,
Associate for Communications
and Membership
Development
Council of the Great City
Schools
Washington, D.C.

Robert M. McClure,
Program Manager,
Instruction and
Professional Development
National Education Association
Washington, D.C.

Daniel W. Merenda,
Deputy Director
National School Volunteer
Program, Inc.
Alexandria, Virginia

Santee Ruffin,
Director of Urban Services
National Association of
Secondary School Principals
Reston, Virginia

Paul B. Salmon,
Executive Director
American Association of
School Administrators
Arlington, Virginia

Elaine G. Stienkemeyer,
First Vice President
National Congress of Parents
and Teachers
Holt, Michigan

1983

Robert Brown, Director
Southeastern Public Education
Program
Macon, Georgia

Mariana Davis, Counselor
Rule High School
Knoxville, Tennessee

Priscilla Kuehn, Principal
Solomon Juneau
Developmental City-Wide
High School
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Joan Lipsitz, Director
Center for Early Adolescence
University of North Carolina

Floretta Dukes McKenzie,
Superintendent
District of Columbia Public
Schools
Washington, D.C.

[illegible]ael O'Keefe,
Vice President for Program
and Policy Studies
Carnegie Foundation for the
Advancement of Teaching
Washington, D.C.

Santee Ruffin,
Director of Urban Services
National Association of
Secondary School Principals
Reston, Virginia

Jose A. Salinas, Principal
Sidney Lanier High School
San Antonio, Texas

APPENDIX F

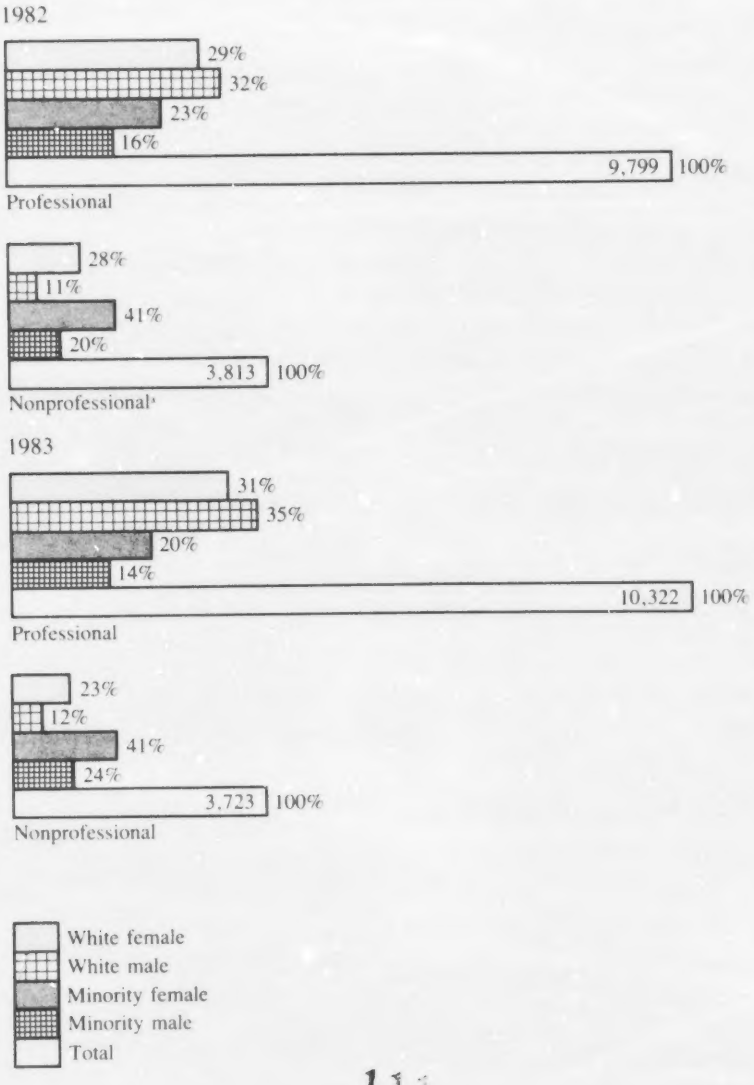
F–1 Population and racial composition of all schools, and of schools invited to participate in the City High School Recognition Program, in the twelve largest cities represented

City	City population	1983 high school population	Invited-school population (% of high school population)	
1982				
Baltimore	787,000	32,825	1,033	(34%)
Detroit	1,203,000	48,775	9,187	(19%)
Houston*	1,595,000	47,567*	3,267	(7%)
Indianapolis	701,000	14,668	8,654	(59%)
Memphis	646,000	29,545	5,349	(18%)
San Antonio*	786,000	15,539*	16,185	(100%)
1983				
Chicago	3,005,000	111,557	41,114	(37%)
Dallas*	904,000	36,221	6,242	(17%)
Los Angeles	2,967,000	122,026	13,678	(11%)
New York	7,072,000	270,000	58,249	(22%)
Philadelphia	1,688,000	68,795	16,498	(24%)
San Francisco*	679,000	20,547*	5,955	(29%)

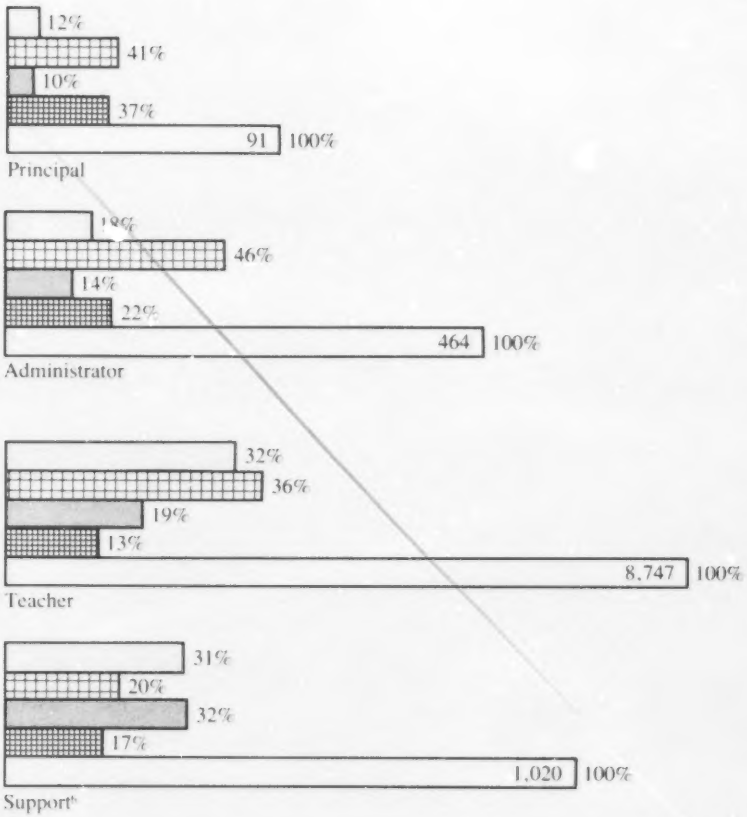
Black %			Hispanic %			White %			Other %**		
City pop.	High sch. pop.	Inv. sch. pop.	City pop.	High sch. pop.	Inv. sch. pop.	City pop.	High sch. pop.	Inv. sch. pop.	City pop.	High sch. pop.	Inv. sch. pop.
55	79	55	.02	.2	.02	44	21	14	.9	0	0
62	86	83	2	2	6	33	11	11	3	1	0
27	44	65	17	29	29	54	23	4	2	4	2
22	46	50	1	.5	.4	77	53	49	0	.5	.6
47	77	99	1	0	.01	51	23	.5	1	0	0
7	14	16	54	75	72	38	10	12	1	1	0
39	60	75	14	20	10	43	16	13	4	4	2
28	49	80	11	22	3	61	26	15	0	3	2
17	21	68	28	49	28	48	22	.1	7	8	4.2
24	38	40	20	31	34	52	30	23	4	1	3
38	62	88	4	8	7	58	28	5	0	2	0
13	23	22	***	17	18	58	17	5	29	43	56

*Independent School District only.
**Other refers primarily to Asians.
***Hispanic included in white percentage

F–2a Racial composition of professional and nonprofessional staff in invited schools



*F–2b Racial composition of professional staff in invited schools in 1983**



*Due to differences in methods of data collection between 1982 and 1983, breakdown of professional staff into categories is only available for 1983 schools.

[a]Nonprofessional staff includes custodians, lunchroom attendants, office clerks, security guards, etc.

[b]Support personnel includes such professionals as social workers, counselors, nurses, etc.

F–3 Minimum graduation requirements in 58 school districts of invited schools, 1982 and 1983*

Subject	4 years	3 years	2 years	1 year	None
English	22	27	2	1	6
Social Studies & History	0	28	21	6	3
Mathematics	0	2	21	26	9
Science	0	0	16	34	8
Physical Education	5	3	23	24	3
Foreign Language	0	0	0	2	56
Music	0	0	0	4	54
Fine and Performing Arts	0	0	0	7	51

*Data are based on district report when available; otherwise state minimum was used. Half-year requirements are reported one unit higher.

F–4a Student enrollment in invited schools

Student enrollment	Number of schools 1982	1983	Total schools
500–999	20	6	26
1000–1499	38	18	56
1500–1999	32	25	57
2000–2999	19	32	51
Over 3000	1	11	12
	110	92	202

F–4b Low-income students in invited schools

Percentage of low-income students in total enrollment	Number of schools 1982	1983	Total schools
30–49	60	36	96
50–69	23	28	51
70–89	23	19	42
Over 90	4	9	13
	110	92	202